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Assembly Commission Reviews Foreign Affairs

AU1712234189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly met today under its chairman, Comrade Foto Cami. The meeting was also attended by Comrade Rita Marko, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Comrade Petro Dode, chairman of the People's Assembly.

The Commission was informed about and discussed the material to be presented to the seventh session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly and made suggestions.

The Commission listened to a report by Comrade Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, on Albania's relations with Mediterranean countries, as well as on international agreements and conventions. The Commission was informed about the efforts of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania concerning the development of fruitful cooperation with neighboring countries, in the context of its constant policy of good-neighborliness. The Commission was told that Albania has worked and continues to work to ensure that a spirit of friendship and fruitful cooperation may prevail in the Mediterranean and in the Balkans in various fields of common interest.

The Commission was informed about the close and friendly cooperation existing with the Arab countries and the extension of traditional bonds with these countries.

The Commission also stressed that the interests of the people's and countries of the Mediterranean basin, as well as the interests of peace and international cooperation, require that the Mediterranean be freed from the fleets and military bases of the superpowers. The ecological protection of the Mediterranean is equally important.

The Commission pointed out that our country's active participation in the process of Balkan cooperation and its interest in the Adriatic Initiative, are parts of Albania's efforts and contribution to the cause of peace and security in the Mediterranean and in Europe. The Commission agreed that the situation in the Mediterranean is closely bound to developments in Europe. Despite the well-known ideological and political differences with the East European countries, Albania has been and continues to be in favor of their free and independent development. Albania is in favor of the normal development of bilateral relations with those countries.

Discussing Albania's adherence to international conventions, the Commission approved steps taken in this direction, particularly in recent years, and expressed its approval for our country's adherence to a number of other conventions in future.

Economic Progress Report for 10-16 Dec

AU1612212089

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 10-16 December carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Gjirokaster District: The industrial production plan has been fulfilled by 102.5 percent. (1900 GMT 15 Dec 89)

Kolonje District: The industrial production plan up to 10 December has been overfulfilled by 3.6 million leks. (1430 GMT 14 Dec 89)

Lushnje District: The overall industrial production has been exceeded by one million leks. (1430 GMT 14 Dec 89)

Pogradec District: The general industrial plan has been exceeded by 6.7 million leks. (1430 GMT 13 Dec 89)

Shkoder District: The industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by 27 million leks, the export plan by 11 million leks, and the increased productivity target by two percent. (1900 GMT 15 Dec 89)

Greeting Messages Received for Liberation Day

CSSR's Husak Sends Message

AU1012133389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message from CSSR President Gustav Husak, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of your country's liberation, in the name of the people of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, I convey cordial greetings to you, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Albanian people.

On the occasion of this significant anniversary, I wish the Albanian people numerous successes in the development of Albanian society and express the belief that the friendly relations between the two countries and peoples will continue to develop and also strengthened in the future.

Poland's Jaruzelski Sends Message

AU1012133489 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message from Woiciech Jaruzelski, president of the People's Republic of Poland, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, I convey to the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and to you personally, greetings and best wishes for your country's development and prosperity.

I would like to express the confidence that the relations between Poland and Albania will develop in the interest of our two peoples.

Cambodian Leaders Send Message

AU1012141389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message from Heng Samrin, general secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia, and Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Cambodia, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the name of the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia, the Government of Cambodia, the Cambodian people, and personally, we convey our warmest wishes and sincere greetings to the Albanian Workers Party, the Albanian Government, the fraternal Albanian people, and to you personally.

We have followed with interest and have greatly appreciated the efforts of the party, the government, and the fraternal Albanian people in the construction and defense of socialism in their dear country after its liberation from the Nazi-fascist yoke on 29 November 1945, under the party's leadership.

We are fully convinced that the relations of friendship between our two peoples and countries will continue to develop further on the basis of the principle, of proletarian internationalism, and in their mutual interest. We wish you, dear comrades, good health and further successes in the fulfillment of your noble tasks.

SFRY's Drnovsek Sends Message

AU1012140789 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message from Janez Drnovsek, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the name of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and personally, I convey to you greetings and best wishes for the well-being of the Albanian people.

I avail myself of this opportunity to stress once again Yugoslavia's adherence to the principles of the development of good-neighborliness and the importance that we attach to the cooperation between our peoples in their mutual interest.

Algeria's Bendjedid Sends Message

AU1012140089 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message from Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the liberation and the victory of the people's revolution in Albania, it is my special pleasure to convey to you in the name of the Algerian people, as well as personally, our most cordial and warmest greetings.

The Algerian people, who have always nurtured a sincere friendship for the Albanian people, follow with interest and consideration the courageous efforts they are continually making, as well as the great successes they have achieved on the road of construction of an independent and self-reliant socialist society. I would, therefore, like to avail myself of this happy opportunity to point out the brilliant relations that exist between our two countries in various fields and to express my belief that our relations of friendship and cooperation will continue to strengthen and develop for the common good of Algeria and Albania. I would also like to express my country's permanent readiness to continue and to deepen our bilateral cooperation in relation to international questions, as well as our activity for the triumph of the ideals of peace, security, and independence for all of the peoples in the world.

Allow me to express my best wishes for your health, happiness, and success, and to wish the friendly Albanian people even greater progress in their well-being and prosperity.

DPRK's Kim Il-song Sends Message

AU1012133589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message from Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution, in the name of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Korean people, and personally, I would like to convey warm greetings to you and to the Albanian people.

Following the country's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution, which marked a turning point in your country's history, the Albanian people, who gained their independence under difficult conditions, transformed their undeveloped country into a socialist state with advanced industry and agriculture.

Our people rejoice at the successes attained by the Albanian people in building a new life and wish yourself and your people even greater successes in the further struggle in the consolidation and development of socialist, sovereign, and independent Albania.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will continue to expand in the common struggle against imperialism and for the victory of the cause of socialism.

Ceausescu, Dascalescu Send Message

AU1012133689 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message from Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Preidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the jubilee of the 45th anniversary of Albania's National Day, in the name of the Romanian people, the Council of State, the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as personally, we convey to you and to the friendly Albanian people warm greetings and best wishes for further successes in the country's socialist development and in strengthening its independence and sovereignty.

We are convinced that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Albania will be continually developed to the benefit of our two peoples and the cause of peace, security, and understanding in the Balkans, Europe, and throughout the world.

Vietnamese Send Message

AU1012141589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message from Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee; Vo Chi Cong, State Council president; and Do Muoi, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution in Albania, we convey our most cordial greetings to you, the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Albanian people.

The victory of the National Liberation War on 29 November 1944 opened up a new era and brought profound revolutionary transformations, which were unprecedented in the history of the Albanian people.

During the past 45 years, further promoting the tradition of the invincible struggle against foreign occupiers, and through their persistent and creative work, the Albanian people have overcome numerous tests and difficulties, have achieved great successes in the construction of the new life, and have completely transformed the country. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been transformed into a socialist agrarian-industrial country with an advanced culture and science, where the material and cultural standard of the people is constantly rising.

Through these achievements and through its peace-loving, anti-imperialist, and good-neighborly foreign policy, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has made a positive contribution to strengthening security and cooperation in the Balkan region and in Europe, as well as to the common struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The Vietnamese people are very happy about these brilliant achievements and wish the fraternal Albanian people, under the leadership of the AWP led by Comrade Ramiz Alia, further and even greater successes in the fulfillment of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan worked out by the Ninth AWP Congress to further promote the cause of socialist construction and thus raise Albania to new heights of development.

We are fully convinced that the solidarity, traditional friendship, and fraternal cooperation between the two parties, states, and peoples of Albania and Vietnam will be further developed and strengthened from day to day in the interests of our two peoples, peace, and socialism.

Cuba's Castro Sends Message

AU1012141689 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message from Fidel Castro Ruz, chairman of the Council of State and of the Government of the Republic of Cuba, to Adil Carcani, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the day of the liberation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, please accept our warmest greetings in the name of the Cuban people and government.

This is a delightful occasion to convey to you our pleasure for the progress of the Albanian people and to stress once again our belief that the ties of friendship and cooperation that exist between Cuba and Albania will continue to strengthen and expand in new fields of interest to both peoples.

National Assembly Session Meets for 2d Day

AU1512130989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Report by Tsveti Gerov on proceedings of National Assembly in Sofia on morning of 15 December—recorded]

[Text] Before beginning today's discussions on the National Assembly's agenda, the people's deputies observed 1 minute of silence in memory of Traycho Kostov, one of the most eminent figures in the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], whose rehabilitation, as Stanko Todorov pointed out, was decided at the recent plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

A declaration was unanimously adopted approving the proposal submitted by the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Party that paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution be repealed and that assesses it as an important step along the path of political pluralism and the construction of a law-governed state.

The declaration also states that, in view of the fact that bills on amending the Constitution now in force will be placed on the agenda no earlier than in a month's time, the National Assembly decided to receive the final proposals for these bills at its next session.

Under item 15 of the agenda, the people's deputies elected the parliamentary commission for examining and reaching decisions on certain urgent problems relating to deformations and breaches of the law committed in state, public, and economic life, appointing Andrey Lukanov as the commission's chairman.

A National Assembly commission was also elected to investigate questions related to the construction of the Rila hydroelectric reservoir project and the [words indistinct], with Professor Ivan Popov as its chairman. In the course of the debate on this item of the agenda, Georgi Atanasov set out the government's viewpoint on the acute ecological problems.

[Begin Atanasov recording] The discussion has assumed a wider scope, and therefore I propose the following. You know that the government has discussed and published a long-term program for carrying out measures connected with the ecological situation. This program, when we take account of the results of the discussion, including the discussion of the proposal that we have made today, should be submitted to the National Assembly for discussion and the adoption of a decision, and this should take place approximately before the end of January. Furthermore, I, as leader of the government, assume the obligation to the National Assembly to ensure that, irrespective of the fact that many of the construction projects that are being designed now or that we will start in the future have been assessed from the ecological viewpoint, all projects such as new construction, all projects such as extensions, and all projects connected with technological renewal will be reassessed from an ecological point of view, by an organization we will create with regard to anything related to the criteria and positions that are now being adopted by the National Assembly and have been adopted by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. [Words indistinct]

Now, comrades, I turn to the issue of the Devnya nuclear power plant. I propose that we set a period of time during which the government must discuss the issue and work out its position. Then the position must be reported to the National Assembly. I think that all this must not take longer than mid-January 1990. [end recording]

The proposal to create, as of 1 January 1990, a National Center on Studying Public Opinion at the National Assembly and the Bulgarian Academy of Science was adopted today. Internal Affairs Minister Georgi Tanev spoke on certain issues related to complaints made by citizens in connection with the violation of their rights during the Ecoforum. He spoke in detail about the 20 October events, when there were clashes in the center of Sofia between the militia and Ecoglasnost activists, who were transported by force to the Southern Park. In our next newscasts we will report in more detail about Minister Georgi Tanev's speech. As for now, I suggest that we listen to the decision of the National Assembly on that point of the agenda, read by Stanko Todorov.

[Begin Todorov recording] First. The National Assembly takes note of the report of the minister of internal affairs.

Second. The National Assembly finds that certain violations have been committed by officials employed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other organs, who have thus impinged upon the rights and interests of citizens and organizations. The National Assembly condemns those acts and instructs the minister of internal affairs to establish the identity of the persons guilty of committing the violations and demand responsibility from them.

Third. Appropriate measures must be adopted in order to restore the violated rights of the citizens and reimburse them for the moral and material damage caused by the illegal acts of the relevant organs.

Fourth. The minister of internal affairs must inform the National Assembly by the end of March 1990 on the measures that have been adopted, and on their results.

Fifth. Simultaneously, in connection with actions that violated public order during mass events, the National Assembly instructs the minister of internal affairs, together with the competent state organs, to adopt efficient measures, on the basis of and within the law, in order to prevent and eliminate such violations in the future. [end recording]

Morning Session Ends

AU1512142689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1209 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Report by Tsveti Gerov on end of National Assembly morning session—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] At this morning's closing session, the National Assembly deputies adopted the proposal of the Bulgarian Communist Party parliamentary group that portraits of leaders should not be exhibited in state institutions and other public places.

As we already announced, Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense reported on the budget expenditures and the state of the people's army. [passage omitted]

Following the report of the legislative commission and of other permanent commissions on proposals submitted, the laws on the amendments to the Penal Code and on amnesty were adopted. A statement, signed by a few thousand Ruse citizens on certain violations committed by Petur Petrov, minister of construction, architecture, and amenities, was read. In this connection, the National Assembly deputies decided to establish a parliamentary commission, headed by Mircho Semov Staykov, in charge of examining the facts and of reporting on the subject at the next National Assembly Session.

Answering questions of National Assembly deputies, Trifon Pashov, minister of transportation, provided further details on the railroad crash near the Roman Railway Station.

The session also adopted a plan on the legislative and control activities of the National Assembly in 1990. A decision was adopted to establish a commission in charge of examining the numerous proposals submitted to the parliament from various associations and citizens' organizations on which reports will be submitted at the next session. At the proposal of the State Council chairman, the next session will also discuss and decide upon the question of granting academic autonomy to the higher educational institutions in Bulgaria.

Following this, the morning session was closed. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly delivered a closing address.

Tanev Notes Police Action

*AU1512134289 Sofia BTA in English
1241 GMT 15 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—In the process of debating the composition of a parliamentary commission of inquiry into the controversial Rila and Mesta hydroengineering projects, which have become a major public concern, some other alarming ecological problems were raised on the parliament floor.

On behalf of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party faction it was moved that construction work be suspended until the National Assembly finalizes its stand on the matter.

Taking into account the wide scope of the debate, Mr Georgi Atanasov M.P., chairman of the Council of Ministers, undertook to make arrangements for an ecological reassessment of the projects which are being designed and of those which will be extended and remodelled even if they already have an ecological expert survey. He assured the National Assembly that the construction of the Rila and Mesta hydroengineering projects will be delayed.

The M.P.'s passed the motion to establish as from January 1, 1990, a National Centre for Public Opinion Research at the National Assembly and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

The national representatives who took the floor to motivate the need for such a centre stressed the need to integrate its work with the Central Statistical Board.

The National Assembly condemned the "violations committed by employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other bodies who prejudiced the rights and the interests of citizens" taking part in the action carried out by the Ecoglasnost Independent Association on October 26 during the CSCE meeting on the protection of the environment.

The minister of internal affairs was assigned to call to account the culprits and to report to parliament on the matter. It was also resolved to indemnify the victims.

The resolution says further on that "in connection with certain breaches of the peace during mass actions, the minister of internal affairs is assigned to take effective measures in cooperation with the competent authorities, proceeding from the law and not exceeding its limits, to prevent and deter such breaches in future."

The resolution was voted after the M.P.'s heard a report by Mr Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs, who supplied details on what he called "an unpleasant and unneeded incident" for which he blamed the former party leadership members Dimitur Stoyanov and Ivan Panev, the secretary of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] City Committee in Sofia Mincho Chuntov and the chief of the Sofia City Police Department. Mr Tanev apologized to parliament but said that he had not been informed about the police action.

Mr Georgi Tanev told the National Assembly that Mr Petur Mladenov, then minister of foreign affairs, and he himself had seen themselves compelled to persuade the then-head of state Todor Zhivkov that "police units should not intervene unless there is a breach of the peace or a threat to the participants' security." They did so in connection with Todor Zhivkov's resentment at the activity of independent organisations during the CSCE meeting.

The detailed account included the incident involving Mr Mike Power, a BBC journalist. It had been reported that one Stoyan Rangelov, a 64-year-old pensioner of the village of Dolna Dikanya near Sofia, set on Mr Power, accusing him of "failing to cover the proceedings of the CSCE meeting which was the purpose of his assignment to Bulgaria" and knocked down his camera in the process. Police officers "prevented a fight" between the two.

According to Mr Tanev, the incident took place because there were no laws on public associations and on rallies and meetings, as well as laws on national and social security and on the police.

Further details on the incident surfaced in the debate on the minister's report. It was mentioned that the Ecoglasnost Association kept behaving loyally after the incident. The M.P.'s directed the discussion to the political climate in the country and indicated that the functions of the party and the state should be differentiated. "This is a very appropriate remark," Mr Petur Mladenov observed.

The M.P.'s expressed divergent views on the police. Mr Mladen Isaev, a writer, described it as "discredited in the eyes of the people" and "self-confident because of its uncontrolled authority." Other lawmakers did not agree and urged for wider police powers.

Defense Minister Speaks

AU1512172589 Sofia BTA in English
1640 GMT 15 Dec 89

["Parliament: One-Minute Silence Followed by Glasnost'"'—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—The National Assembly resumed its session here this morning with a debate on the business on the agenda adopted yesterday. [passage omitted]

The total sum for the expenses of the Bulgarian Army for 1989 amounts to 1 billion and 605 million leva, said the minister of National Defence Army General Dobri Dzhurov. He said that at the same time the military budget of Turkey is 2 billions and 400 million U.S. dollars, and of Greece—2 billion and 240 million dollars. Besides, this year Turkey will receive only from the FRG 140 million dollars and Greece—75 million.

Dobri Dzhurov, who is a member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], informed also that after the announcement at the beginning of this year reductions have already been made. By October 1 the Army has at its disposal 204 military aircraft, 51 helicopters, 72 launching grounds for tactical missiles, 2,000 tanks, 2,365 armored carriers, etc. The numeric strength of the Army is 107 thousand people.

Turkey's Army is 650 thousand strong (the largest in Europe), more than half of it is not far from the Bulgarian borders. The Greek Army is 190 thousand.

Emphasizing that Bulgaria does not look upon neither of its two southern neighbours as enemy and strives for good-neighbour relations, friendship and cooperation, Dobri Dzhurov proposed the drafting of a special law concerning the defence of this country.

The MPs endorsed the bills for amendments of the penal code and for amnesty.

The deputies discussed a statement sent by citizens of Ruse (at the Danube) in which they accuse their former local leader (since a month minister of construction, architecture and urbanization) of insufficient taking of measures for ecological protection of the city. On their insistence the parliament established a commission which will investigate the case.

The MPs adopted the plan for the legislative and control activity of the National Assembly during the next year. At the proposal of Petur Mladenov the deputies included in the agenda of the next parliamentary session the discussion of the question for granting academic autonomy to the higher schools. "Yesterday we heard the motives," added he.

Independent societies and organizations presented declarations and documents to the parliament. In this connection the parliament entrusted its permanent commissions with their examination. At the next session they will inform of the results.

Assembly Ends

AU1512143489 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] The 12th session of the Ninth National Assembly has ended. A full agenda was discussed. After the discussion of the last item of the agenda—the adoption of a plan on the legislative and control activity of the National Assembly in 1990—Comrade Petur Mladenov proposed the following: To decide now at the present session that the agenda of the next National Assembly session will include an item on discussing and deciding the issue of giving autonomy to the higher educational establishments. The proposal was unanimously adopted.

On the eve and in the course of the present session many declarations and documents of public organizations, independent associations, and individual citizens were received. Among them—the independent student Ecoglasnost associations, the Committee on Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Intellectual Values, The Union of the Democratic Forces, the Initiative Committee in Support of Restructuring at the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, and so forth. In this context, the present National Assembly session unanimously adopted the decision to instruct the appropriate National Assembly permanent commissions to review the substance of the documents that have been received and submit a report at the next session.

Todorov Closes Assembly

AU1512154889 Sofia BTA in English
1501 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—Today the National Assembly ended its 12th session. In his closing speech Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, said that such a session could never had taken place in the time of authoritarian power.

In his opinion the overcoming of old parliamentary habits was urged on by the Bulgarian citizens' "explosively mounting activity."

Mr Todorov summarized the results of the session in this way: At last the parliament assumed its legislative role; the personnel changes in the supreme legislative and executive bodies are the precondition for a change in the political course; the setting up of a Parliamentary Commission to Investigate the Deformations and Violations of Law is a response to the demands of the public.

The chairman reminded that the National Assembly decided to give a final approval to the changes in the Constitution regarding the text guaranteeing the leading role of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in January 1990.

It is the parliament's supreme duty to create the legal prerequisites for a true restructuring, Mr Stanko Todorov said, and added, "Our work will be continued by the next, Tenth National Assembly, which will be elected by a democratic way and in accordance with a new election law".

Foreign Ministry Employees Issue Appeal

AU1512155889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] An appeal of the Communist and nonparty member employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to all Bulgarian citizens reads:

We are participating in events of decisive importance for Bulgaria's future. A process of democratization and consolidation of pluralism and glasnost has begun in the country. This process aims at national revival. All patriotic forces understand that there is no other sensible course for our country. We, Communist and non-party member employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, categorically support the process of restructuring and democratization, aimed at turning Bulgaria into a modern, civilized, law-governed, and socialist state. This is a position that must consistently be defended, the appeal stresses. Simultaneously, we clearly understand that the democratic process has not strengthened yet, and that it could be threatened through deliberate blocking it, or through irresponsible acts. The danger is real. Political conservatism and manifestations of extremism and intolerance can have one result only—return to times already denied by our history.

The acts in front of the National Assembly on the evening of 14 December remind one of the most unworthy pages of our country's political life, and represent denial of democracy's basic values. We are firmly convinced that the transition toward pluralism, glasnost, and a really democratic process, cannot take place while anti-democratic means are being used. The constitutional order cannot be consolidated through nihilistic attitudes toward the country's basic law. Parliamentarism cannot be strengthened through chaotic acts and an uncivilized attitude toward the Bulgarian Parliament.

We appeal to all who cherish the cause of restructuring and renewal in Bulgaria to firmly defend democracy, national unity, and the sensible and civilized dialogue, the Communist and nonparty member employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs point out.

Demonstrators Behavior Denounced at Public Rallies

AU1512200289 Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 15 Dec 89

["Democracy Does Not Mean Anarchy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—At meetings and rallies in a number of enterprises, departments and institutes in this country today the people express indignation and concern over the irresponsible actions and the poor political culture of part of the participants in yesterday's demonstration in front of the National Assembly in Sofia. They stand against the "attempts of some extremist circles to hamper the work of the Bulgarian Parliament."

The organizers of last night's demonstration the Independent Students' Societies issued a declaration today with which they categorically delimit themselves of "all expressions of poor political culture, rude behaviour and illegal actions."

The Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria also delimited itself from the extremist actions. Its chairman Zhelyo Zhelev stated so in today's papers.

At today's rallies calls and appeals have been made to the Bulgarian people for national unison in the name of the "socialist innovation, the construction of just, democratic and law-abiding state".

It is also noted that the "political unscrupulousness, antidemocratic behaviour and intolerance bring in question the sincerity of some of the demonstrators and their desire for real pluralism, for broad political dialogue." Concern is expressed over the desire of the antisocialist forces to create tension and to destabilize the course of innovation.

TV Director Apologizes to Demonstrators

AU1512214189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] At 1700 local time, several people participating in the rally in front of the National Assembly left it under the leadership of the Association of Independent Cameramen of Bulgarian Television. They asked the television employees and the leadership of the Information Directorate of the Bulgarian Television to expressly apologize for the feature shown last night on television about yesterday's rally on the National Assembly Square.

Filip Bokov, chairman of the Television and Radio Committee, spoke at the rally and apologized. Representatives were elected among the numerous people gathered at the rally in charge of participating in the preparation of a feature on this rally, which shall be shown later tonight about the rally.

Comments on National Assembly, Demonstrations

AU1612133089 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 15 Dec 89

["Debates, Demonstrations, Quiet Majority Syndrome"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA Commentator Valeri Naydenov)—At the National Assembly Session that ended today the feeling was like that of a man who has just changed his black and white TV set for color. And as he is getting used to it, fireworks are light up the window from the street. [sentence as received]

Hot debates in the parliament hall, noisy demonstrations outside nowaday's Bulgarian generations do not remember anything like it. As with any novelty, some people just can't swallow it right away. Both the demonstrators outside and the MPs inside have yet to get used to democracy.

Outside everybody was eager for change and nobody wanted to listen. Not even to himself. This impatience can be easily explained. People wanted the changes concerning "the leading role of the party" right away. They wanted the immediate resignation of parliament. If the Constitution has been violated many times at the whim of the fallen leader, why not do it once more, for democracy's sake? Why wait a month, as the law says?

Inside representatives decided that democratic ends should not be pursued by non-democratic means. But it was hardly worth the surprise that a huge crowd, after several hours of shouting, would listen to anyone.

Today's events showed that millions of people approve neither the siege of the National Assembly nor the behavior of the crowd they saw on television. The National Assembly mail was heavy with messages of support. Rallies against the rallies took place in many cities. In short, the quiet majority syndrome showed up.

Summing it up, those who want changes, actually almost all Bulgarians, should be satisfied with the session's results. There will be real democratic gains at the very beginning of next year. The campaign for the first competitive elections will be launched a long and extremely complicated process, and the complexity is multiplied by the lack of experience, traditions and procedures. One might say that this week the country has experienced its first schoolday: In the first grade of democracy.

Mladenov Answers Question on BCP Rally

AU1712174389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Dec 89 p 1

[Report on interview with Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, by unidentified RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter on 13 December; place not given—"New Confidence"]

[Text] After the end of the 13 December rally a representative of RABOTNICHESKO DELO asked the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] the following question: "Did you anticipate the participation of so many people? Do you see the rally as a source of force and inspiration?"

[Mladenov] Yes, I anticipated the participation of many people: The Communists and the people support restructuring. This was a wonderful manifestation of support for the party line and the new party course. Did this rally of the Sofia working people—they obviously were not only Communists, those were people who support restructuring—inspire me with new force and confidence in the correctness of our course? Yes. I knew how strong our party was, but nevertheless, is was gratifying to see how the people did not move from their place for more than 2 hours. Today we received very important moral and political support. During the 3 days of the plenum we discussed sharp, very sharp issues. We cannot not even think that we could resolve those problems without the participation of the Communists and the people. One thing is clear: We must tell the people the whole truth, as we did in fact. If the people believe us and join us—this already is a guarantee that we shall succeed. However, if the people do not join us, if a shock situation [shokovo sustoyanie] emerges—something that could happen—we would be doomed to fail. I think that the rally was the first test of the people's readiness to follow the BCP line.

Club for Democracy Rallies in Turgovishte

AU1712223989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] A rally was organized by the Club For Democracy and Glasnost in Turgovishte today. In their statements, the speakers stressed the requirement that the restructuring process should be accelerated in our country and proposed specific measures in this respect to the municipal leadership.

The demand that a municipal commission in charge of breaches of the law committed in the last 10 years, the demand for independence of municipal mass media, and questions related to ecological and urbanization measures are some of the issues in question.

In this respect, a declaration to the National Assembly and to the chairman of the Municipal People's Council was greeted with applause.

Independent Associations Demonstrate in Turnovo

AU1712215389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] At the initiative of the independent democratic organizations and movements, the Sixth Rally in Support of Restructuring in our country was held in Veliko Turnovo today.

The participants in the rally passed through the main street of the town, chanting for free elections and democracy in deeds. While stopping in front of the Municipal People's Council Building, they insisted on the resignation of its leadership.

The dozens of posters that the participants were carrying contained various slogans. Communists, agrarians, democrats, [words indistinct]: We are against the pollution of the Yantra, River, we are not against the Communists, [words indistinct].

At the monument of Mother Bulgaria the demonstrators held a meeting at which various speakers took the floor for about two hours. Among them were Zoya [last name indistinct] and Dr Petur (?Maslakov) from the Podkrepa Independent Trade Union; Paskal Paskalev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party-United, which was restored in Veliko Turnovo; Ivan (?Gabarov), spokesman of the independent Students' League in the Veliko Turnovo University, named after Kiril and Metodi.

With appeals for tolerance, for pluralism of opinions, for unity, and for the solution of the city's problems, the participants in the meeting invited the municipal BCP and state leadership to join a public discussion on questions, such as the ecological situation of the River Yantra, the decline of Veliko Turnovo resulting from the conditions of the new territorial-administrative distribution in the country, the requirement to differentiate between extremism and freedom-loving spirit, and others.

Unfortunately, not even one representative of the municipal leadership responded to the invitation, and the expected dialogue once more did not take place.

The participants in the procession and rally adopted a resolutioin addressed to the National Assembly, to the Municipal People's Council of Veliko Turnovo, and to the mass media. In this resolution they expressed their resolve to support the prompt restructuring in the country and insisted: Upon a change in the Constitution and full elimination of Article 1; on the depolitization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense organs, of educational institutions, and labor collectives; on eliminating a party apparatus on a payroll from all public and administrative units; and on the resignation of corrupted nomenklatura cadres.

The resolution decided to reject as one-sided and not sufficiently justified the declaration of the National Assembly adopted in connection with the human chain procession on 14 December in Sofia, and insists on free access of independent democratic organizations to mass media.

Specific demands were submitted for analyzing the expediency of expenditures for the restoration of cultural monuments in Veliko Turnovo and for prompt measures on crucial ecological problems of the municipality.

Investigation Against Zhivkov's Grandson Planned

AU1712230089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Announcement issued by the Main Investigation Department—date and place not given]

[Text] In connection with an article published by the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO of 17 December 1989, under the subhead: "Why Was No Legal Action Taken?" the Main Investigation Department informs the Bulgarian public on the following facts:

The aforementioned article publicly confirms the numerous rumors, which were recently spread about the fact that Todor Ivanov Slavkov and other persons did not bear the legal consequences for a rape they had committed.

The leadership of the Investigation Department, having been informed of these rumors in a timely manner on 13 December 1989, proposed to the Prosecutor's Office—namely, to Deputy Chief Prosecutor Atanas Atanasov—to give instructions for appropriate legal investigation procedures in this case, on which decisions of the competent prosecution organs were already twice adopted as early as in 1988.

Tomorrow all documents and materials related to the case that are available in the files of the competent organs will be submitted to the public.

The Bulgarian public shall be informed in detail on the results of the investigation.

Further on BCP CC Plenum 11-13 Dec

List of Speakers

AU1712161389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Dec 89 p 1

[BTA report: "BCP CC Plenum Continues"]

[Text] Sofia, 12 December (BTA)—The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] continued with a debate on the situation in the country and the party, and the immediate tasks.

A statement by Academician Vladimir Topencharov, member of the BCP Central Committee, who for health reasons could not attend, was read. The following persons took the floor: Kiril Petkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy general director of the Bulgarian-Soviet Organization on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation in the Area of Mineral Fertilizers and Chemical Means of Vegetation Protection; Georgi Kostov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and general manager of the Gabrovo Technological Institute on Plastic Processing of Materials; Luchezar Avramov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian Tourist Union; Yancho Georgiev, member of the BCP Central Committee and head of the BCP Central Committee Information-Sociological Center; Evgeni Apostolov, member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy minister of public health and social welfare; Konstantin Rusinov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy minister of foreign economic relations; Dimitur Popov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Varna Oblast People's Council; Academician Ilcho Dimitrov, member of the BCP Central Committee; Stoyan Zhulev, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian Association for Tourism and Leisure; Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Stefan Angelov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Coordination Committee on Human Research at the Presidium of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Boyko Dimitrov, member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Grudi Atanasov, public figure and party veteran.

Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, who chaired the morning session, reported that about 0800 local time at the Roman Railroad Station area a railroad disaster with the "Zlatni Pesutsi" Express had taken place.

The participants in the plenum stood to honor those who had died. The plenum expressed sincere condolences to the relatives of the casualties.

The afternoon session was chaired by Belcho Belchev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

The following persons took the floor: Goran Ninov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Committee of Mikhaylovgrad Oblast People's Council; Krustyu Stanilov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the "Agrarian and Construction Machine Building" Association; Aleksandur Lilov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary; Atanas Dimitrov, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the National Assembly; Lazar Donchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the BCP Lovech Municipal Committee; Stoyan Mikhaylov, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP Central Committee and Central Committee secretary; Elena Lagadinova, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Committee of the Movement of Bulgarian Women; Academician Nikola Popov, rector of Sofia's "Kliment Okhridski" University; Tsvetana Maneva, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and actress at the "Tear and Laughter" Theater; Ivan Iliev, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman and chief scientific secretary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Lazar Prichkapov, member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the BCP Sofia Oblast Committee; and Vasil Mruchkov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, chaired the evening session.

The following persons took the floor: Mincho Semov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and professor at Sofia University; Evgeni Uzunov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol; Zhivko Zhivkov, member of the BCP Central Committee; Ivan Shpatov, member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of domestic trade; Nikola Tsonev, member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the BCP Lovech Oblast Committee; Grozyu Grozev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, brigade leader at the Plovdiv Construction Assembly Combine, and Hero of Socialist Labor; and Georgi Iliev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, brigade leader at the "Georgi Dimitrov" Shipyard in Varna, and Hero of Socialist Labor.

The plenum continues tomorrow [13 December].

Last-Day Activities

AU1712170089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Dec 89 p 3

[BTA report: "The BCP Central Committee Plenum Ends"]

[Text] Sofia, 13 December (BTA)—This morning the plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee continued its work. The participants were briefed on the contents of the talks between Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, and Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR party and state leader, during their 5 December meeting in Moscow.

The report on the talks stresses that the especially close relations between the two parties and states will not only be preserved, but their development will continue. The achievements of bilateral cooperation will be preserved and increased.

The fact that the acceleration of the process of restructuring in Bulgaria facilitates the strengthening of mutual openness [otkritost] and confidence in relations between the BCP and CPSU, and between the two states, is an additional stimulus to developing traditional Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation and friendship between the two nations.

It was also pointed out that the restructuring experience acquired so far in the USSR will be creatively utilized in all spheres of social life, while the specific Bulgarian conditions are taken into consideration. Especially important was the assessment that under the new conditions there exists the possibility of intensifying cooperation in economy, politics, and international relations on the basis of total equality, mutual benefit, and friendly solidarity.

The common determination noted at the exchange of opinions between Comrades Petur Mladenov and Mikhail Gorbachev was pointed out. According to it, the two countries are firmly determined to march along the road of further developing democracy, glasnost, and renewal of socialism, by eliminating deformations, preserving and borrowing the best elements of human civilization, and steadily following a policy of peace, cooperation, and understanding in Europe and the world in international relations.

The following persons took part in the discussion of the report of the BCP Central Committee Politburo "On the State of the Party and Country, and the Immediate Tasks": Boris Tsvetkov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Committee on European Security and Cooperation; Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions; Svetlin Rusev, member of the BCP Central Committee, painter; and Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, who spoke about certain issues of party work under conditions of restructuring, and briefed the plenum on the hitherto activity of the Special Party-Governmental Commission on Reviewing and Resolving Certain Urgent Issues Related to Deformations in Social and Economic Life. He paid special attention to the issue of the total political rehabilitation of Traycho Kostov. Afterward, the plenum adopted the following

DECISION

Rejects and completely revokes the accusations against Traycho Kostov about "crude mistakes of nationalistic character" and the assessment of the BCP Central Committee September 1956 Plenum that he was "a mouthpiece of anti-Soviet elements in the party and state apparatus, had a hostile attitude toward Georgi Dimitrov, and was insincere toward the party," as biased, slanderous and false.

The following persons also took the floor: Ivan Maslarov, member of the BCP Central Committee, public figure; Dimitur Stanishev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary; and Belcho Belchev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of finance.

Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, who chaired the morning session, read a letter of Comrade Georgi Chankov.

The debate continued with statements by: Boris Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy minister of national defense; Khristaki Kunev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and ambassador to Albania; Asen Khadzhiolov, minister of national education; Sava Dulbokov, member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council; and Mako Dakov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the All-People's Committee of the Movement on Environment Preservation and Regeneration.

After the statements of 42 persons—members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee and guests at the plenum—it was decided to end the debate.

The session's chairman reported that hundreds of telegrams, letters, appeals, and protocols of meetings of labor collectives, primary party organizations, and party groups continue to be addressed to the BCP Central Committee plenum.

Many Communists, workers in material production and cooperative members, representatives of various branches of the scientific-technical and artistic-creative intelligentsia, active fighters against fascism and capitalism, veterans of the Fatherland War, pensioners, individual citizens and families are writing to the Central Committee. They support the platform of action, presented in the Politburo report, and the new party course, and simultaneously express confidence that the party will be able to mobilize its forces for overcoming the deformations that have accumulated, and unite the people for implementing real restructuring and renewal of socialism in Bulgaria. Many specific proposals are being made to conduct a self-cleansing [samoprechistvane] of the party ranks, restore the Blagoev-Dimitrov virtues, decisively resist the forces with antisocialist character, and struggle for constructing the democratic civic society.

In this context the plenum adopted the following

DECISION

The BCP Central Committee Politburo is instructed to organize the profound study of the problems, critical remarks, and proposals, that have been posed, and answer and resolve them, as well as fully use the ideas and opinions, that have been expressed, in the preparations for the forthcoming party congress.

The BCP Central Committee expresses gratitude to the comrades who have sent their remarks and proposals, related to the problems discussed by the plenum.

Afterward, the floor was given to Georgi Varnov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the BCP Plovdiv City Municipal Committee, who proposed to review the party status of Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev, and Vladimir Zhivkov.

The indisputable violations of basic party and moral principles on the part of the former general secretary and his close circle, and the necessity of profoundly and precisely assessing those acts in the near future were stressed during the discussion of this issue of exceptional importance for the party's moral image and purity.

The plenum unanimously adopted a decision, which has been published.

In connection with the statement of Comrade Petur Dyulgerov, the plenum greeted the decision of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions to proclaim the independence of its organs and organizations vis-a-vis the political parties, state organs and structures, economic and administrative leaderships, and other social organizations and movements, and defend the legal rights and justifiable demands of the working people. Comrade Petur Mladenov expressed the opinion of the Politburo in connection with Comrade Petur Dyulgerov's request to relieve him from the post of candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, and asked the plenum to not discuss this issue at present. The proposal was adopted.

Mincho Yovchev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, who chaired the afternoon session, gave the floor to Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Commission on the Resolution, who reported on the amendments in the draft resolution, made on the basis of the numerous remarks and proposals that have been submitted.

Numerous questions were asked by the participants and certain corrections were inserted in the resolution's text.

The plenum adopted the resolution, which has been published.

Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, read a concluding speech.

Thus the plenum's work ended.

Decision To Expel Zhivkov

AU1712181489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Dec 89 p 1

["Decision" issued by the BCP Central Committee Plenum held in Sofia on 11-13 December]

[Text] Because of grave violations of basic party and moral principles, profound deformations in party and society, and crude mistakes in the country's socioeconomic development committed by Todor Zhivkov, former general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and State Council chairman, and his associates, which led the country to a political and economic crises, the BCP Central Committee adopts the following decision:

1. Todor Khristov Zhivkov, Milko Kalev Balev, and Vladimir Todorov Zhivkov are expelled from the BCP ranks.

2. The Politburo of the BCP Central Committee is entrusted with the task of completing in the near future the investigation of the issue of the personal, political, and moral responsibility of the persons belonging to Todor Zhivkov's circle, and their position in the party.

The BCP Central Committee proposes to the National Assembly to create a special parliamentary commission, which will study the state aspects of the issue and submit appropriate conclusions and proposals.

The BCP Central Committee proposes to the competent state organs—the Chief Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of Finance—to conduct a strict and objective financial and legal investigation of the aforementioned group of former figures.

Resolution of Plenum

AU1812060189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Dec 89 pp 3,4

["Resolution" issued by the BCP Central Committee Plenum in Sofia on 13 December]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum held on 10 November 1989 marked the beginning of a radical change in the party's and country's development. It clearly pointed out the alarming trends in the development of society, eliminated one-man power, and rejected the Stalinist model of socialism. The plenum marked the beginning of the party's new political line. This line is aimed at rescuing the party from the crisis in the economic and social spheres, at the establishment of a democratic, law-governed state, at the party's radical restructuring, and at building a truly democratic and humanitarian type of socialism.

I. On The Country's Social and Economic Problems

The BCP Central Committee Plenum is convinced that a radical economic reform, likely to direct the economy toward satisfying the needs of man and society, is required to overcome the phenomena of crisis in the economic sector and for guranteeing lasting prerequisites of socioeconomic progress.

This reform will be directed at building a socialist market economy that will guarantee an equal and unhindered development of all forms of ownership and the observance of the principles of social stablity. Along with this, the economic independence of economic units from state planning and control will also be guaranteed and should be implemented by economic means on the basis of democracy and socialist self-management of labor collectives.

Along with this, the Central Committee proposes that the current economic policy, the main purpose of which is to overcome situations of crisis, should be focused on several priority tasks.

1. On Ensuring the Supply of Goods and Services to the Population

The BCP Central Committee Plenum proposes the adoption of decisive measures to stabilize the state of the domestic market. As early as with the 1990 plan, it will be required to provide more basic foodstuffs and mass consumer goods for the population. Additional amounts of consumer goods and raw materials for their production should be obtained by restructuring the production, import, and export sectors.

It is the party's opinion that the great potential of the enterprises engaged in the output of production means should be mobilized in the purpose of producing more consumer goods and that the conversion of defense industry should be stimulated and accelerated for the same purpose.

Tax exemptions and better credit and foreign exchange conditions should be provided as incentives for the production of consumer goods and for better services.

The regulation of the commodity-money relationship and control over inflation will play an important role in stabilizing the domestic market. The interests of the population's weakest social strata should be guaranteed at the same time and an uncompromising struggle should be waged against speculation and corruption.

2. On Some Urgent Social Problems

The BCP Central Committee Plenum estimates that under the present state of economic crisis, it is necessary to direct efforts toward the preservation of the living standard. The policy of assisting the weakest social strata of the population. [sentence as received] Priority should be given to large families, to lonely people, and to those who require social assistance, to invalids and disabled people, to orphans and abandoned children, to children suffering from chronic diseases and disabilities.

The BCP Central Committee Plenum proposes that the government search for possibilities, as early as in 1990, to increase the low pensions of pensioners over the age of 70 and invalids belonging to the first and second categories, with a view of ensuring means at the level of the social minimum. It would be expedient to prepare and submit to the National Assembly a draft project on index adjustment.

The BCP Central Committee Plenum declares itself in favor of strictly linking wages to labor results; in favor of consistently eliminating all sources of income that are not stemming from labor efforts; in favor of doing away with all incomes stemming from unjustified privileges and outdated forms of incentive; and in favor of a new policy in compiling and utilizing social consumption funds.

It is required that the resources and capacities, set free as a result of the decreased construction volume in the production sphere, concentrate upon housing construction and increasing the deliveries of construction materials for the commodity fund. Prerequisites should be established to expand all forms of construction and eliminate bureaucratic obstacles preventing construction according to the economic methods and the consolidation of a more just manner of distributing and selling housing units. Citizens who have urgent housing needs should be provided with housing facilties that are now being used for administrative and other goals.

Prompt measures should be adopted to improve the level and quality of the people's health conditions on the basis of the consistent application and development of the health insurance system, including the supply of medicines. Permanent care should be devoted to the improvement of labor conditions.

The competent organs should adopt effective measures for improving the environment, especially in urban centers affected by a high degree of pollution, for preserving the purity of the soil and of drinking water, of forests, and so forth.

3. On restructuring of production structures

The determination of priority production sectors should be adjusted to environmental and climatic conditions, to the country's resources and to opportunities related to the foreign market. The economic sector should be freed of everything that is not socially useful and does not enrich the domestic market. Priority should be given to agriculture, to food and light industry, to economic tourism, and to services for the population.

The BCP Central Committee Plenum supports the proposals submitted by numerous Communists and nonparty members for a drastic improvement of economic relations in the agricultural sector. The Plenum resolutely supports the view that the land should be given to those who cultivate it. They should be entitled to choose the forms of land ownership and management, and decide on the establishment of cooperative, state-owned, or private farms, by choice. For the purpose of guaranteeing the perfect functioning of cooperative democracy and in observing the voluntary principle and the wishes of the agricultural workers, the labor cooperative agricultural farms should be restored. Long-term use of land should be encouraged through land-lease methods. Abandoned land and plots in mountainous and hilly regions should be handed over to individual farmers for long-term use at favorable conditions.

It would be expedient for the National Assembly, as early as in 1990, to prepare and adopt a law settling the problems of economic relations in agricultural production on a permanent and radical basis.

It is required that the Council of Ministers prepare programs likely to guarantee a comprehensive development of all other priority sectors.

An objective evaluation of the state and future prospects of low-profit and unprofitable enterprises, and of enterprises that are producing poor quality production, or goods that are not in demand, is required, as a result of which we should proceed toward the stabilization, or reorganization, and also consider closing them down within time limits agreed upon between the respective organs and the labor collectives.

The BCP Central Committee resolutely declares itself against the constant reorganizations of administrative and economic structures in the economic sector. Changes should be adopted only after serious examination and confirmed economic expediency on the basis of the development of production democracy and socialist self-management of the labor collectives.

For the purpose of guaranteeing conditions of stability and security, the management of economic activities should from now on be solely implemented on a legal basis.

4. On Currency Problems

The BCP Central Committee Plenum, in assessing the threatening increase of the foreign debt, proposes to the government to prepare and apply a medium-range program on delaying and halting the increase of the debt and creating prerequisites for an active foreign exchange balance in the near future.

The BCP Central Committee expresses its support for changing the existing currency system with a view to most fully coordinating the interests of commodity producers with those of the state for effective and increasing exports and for the most thrifty spending of foreign exchange resources. Economic conditions should be established for limiting and reducing the foreign currency expenditures; for stimulating exports with the assistance of market mechanisms; and for guaranteeing a just share from the foreign currency obtained for those who have earned it.

The currency resources of the state should concentrate, on a priority basis, upon those branches and activities that are capable of obtaining a considerable growth of the national income on a short-term basis, especially through an increase in the production of goods, which are in demand both on the domestic and international markets. Foreign currency expenditures that are not of priority importance should be drastically reduced and the same applies to foreign exchange resources or the maintenance of diplomatic, trade, and other representations abroad.

It is necessary to create legal, taxation, and administrative prerequisites for attracting currency resources with the help of forms of economic cooperation that are not likely to increase the country's debts, such as joint enterprises, linked business deals, direct foreign investments, and others.

5. On Stabilizing Financial Balances

The BCP Central Committee Plenum supports a considerable reduction of the pre-distributing functions of the state budget and a prompt adjustment of expenditures to the really existing opportunities.

The taxation policy should create conditions of self-support and self-financing of economic units. The taxation system should be based on uniform principles regardless of the ownership forms, the sphere of activities, and the sources of financing.

In order to halt the increase of the budget debt and to provide a better balance of the flow of financial resources in the country, the Plenum proposes as follows:

—The National Assembly should determine the maximum limit for the country's domestic debt. The National Assembly should be the only institution entitled to adopt decisions on additional expenditures in the future.

—The Council of Ministers should pursue a firm policy of reducing budgetary subsidies, subventions, premiums, and additional allowances for prices, of cutting down capital investments for economic activities financed by the state. The preparation and implementation of a comprehensive anti-inflation program should promptly begin. The subsidies for the maintainance of social organizations should be immediately cancelled, and the financing of representative activities should be drastically reduced.

The plenum of the BCP Central Committee proposes to the government to adopt, as of 1 January 1990, measures related to reducing the administrative-command personnel and the maintenance of the administration.

The Central Committee thinks that the budget expenditures for maintaining the Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs must be limited to the amount necessary for guaranteeing the internal and international security of the state and society.

The stabilizing-measures program does not promise easy and quick solutions. Difficult years lay ahead. Insistent and selfless work is necessary in order to overcome the crisis. In addition to the consistent democratization of social life, the implementation of the program requires high labor, technological, and financial discipline.

A national consent and the cohesion of all social forces rallied around the priority tasks of economy and around all measures for their implementation is required.

II. On the State of the Political System and the Urgent Tasks Related to Its Cardinal Restructuring

The supremacy of the authoritarian-administrative system caused deep distortions in the country's state and social systems.

The Plenum of the BCP Central Committee considers the elimination of the authoritarian-bureaucratic system and the establishment of a socialist civic society and democratic law-governed state as a basic task in restructuring the political system.

The party adheres to creating real conditions of implementing the socialist people's government, developing and guaranteeing the citizens' rights and freedoms, dividing the power, and asserting the National Assembly as a supreme and constantly functioning organ of state power, guaranteeing the supremacy of law, introducing and strictly applying the principle of limited terms in leading party and state posts, ensuring glasnost and publicity [publichnost] in all spheres of life, and developing self-management in the production and territorial units.

The construction of the democratic law-governed state is a prolonged process. Its implementation requires reliable and solid legal guarantees, aimed at making the process of development irrevocable and excluding relapses into the authoritarian-bureaucratic system.

The party attributes primary importance to the following trends of developing the political system and will work for their implementation:

1. Asserting the National Assembly as the supreme and fully functioning organ of state power. It must be the real expression of people's government self-management in the spirit of the best democratic traditions of our people. Only thus could it fully implement its constitutional functions.

The Plenum proposes that, as early as the beginning of 1990, the National Assembly should discuss a report on the activity of the Council of Ministers. Along with this, the government should propose urgent measures for resolving the country's most crucial socioeconomic problems.

The role and activity of the people's representatives in their constituencies and the permanent commissions must increase and strengthen along with their comprehensive activity in the National Assembly. The people's representatives must regularly report to their voters.

2. The Plenum considers it necessary that a draft of a new constitution is worked out as early as 1990 and discussed in a free and democratic manner by all people. The construction of a modern structure of the state system must be envisioned. It must ensure efficient management and create reliable guarantees against the abuse of power. The establishment of an organ for constitutional control must be envisioned.

3. The BCP Central Committee plenum proposes to the National Assembly to adopt a new election law, on the basis of which free and democratic elections should be held as early as in the second quarter of 1990.The free expression of the voters' will should be guaranteed, as well as real pluralism and the nomination of more than one candidate for a deputy's post.

4. The plenum proposes to the National Assembly to establish a commission for the examination and solution of certain urgent problems connected with the distortions and breaches of law that were allowed to occur in state, economic, and social life.

5. The expediency and necessity of the existence of a state council must be discussed.

6. The plenum thinks that the Council of Ministers should entirely assume the functions entrusted to it by the Constitution as a high executive and administrative organ of the state power, which is responsible for the state government.

7. It is necessary to strengthen the independence of the local organs of state power and ensure the self-management of the territorial units. The necessary measures must be adopted for developing and strengthening the municipalities as basic administrative-territorial units and organs of self-management, as a condition and guarantee of decentralizing the government. The legal guarantees must be strengthened and economic preconditions must be created for increasing the municipalities' own income and forming and conducting municipal policy that ensures conditions for better life for the citizens.

The issue of the place and role of the oblast people's councils in the system of local self-management must be discussed.

8. The issue of comprehensively reforming the legal system on the basis of the new constitution has become an urgent matter. The legislation must accord the requirements of restructuring political, economic, and intellectual life, developing civic society, and implementing our country's international obligations.

A program on preparing the most urgent new laws must be worked out. Among them: A Law on the Political and Social Organizations and Associations; a Law on the Economic Reform, including a Law on the Property; A Law on the Economic Activity; A Law on the Land and Use of Land; A Law on Social Security; A Law on the People's Councils and Local Self-Management, as well as laws related to asserting democratic and humanitarian elements in penal legislation, and so forth.

9. It is necessary to implement a fundamental reform in the system of the legal defense organs. The Central Committee categorically declares itself in favor of the independence of the judicial, prosecution, and investigation organs, and subjugating them solely to the law. Their activity must ensure the real equality of the people in front of the law, humanity, and justice in applying laws, in order to effectively defend the citizens' rights and freedoms.

Any interference or pressure on judicial, prosecution, and investigation organs must be prosecuted on the basis of the legal requirements and assessed as a rude violation of social ethics.

10. Led by the understanding that the role of a given party in a democratic society cannot be ordered by law, but is determined by the people's confidence and support for its policy, the Central Committee entrusts the National Assembly deputies from the BCP parliamentary group to submit to the forthcoming National Assembly session a proposal on canceling paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution.

III. On the Party and Its Role in Developing Society at the Present Stage

The November Plenum of the BCP Central Committee marked the beginning of overcoming the crisis within the party. It found enough strength to discuss and reject the deformations in society and its own ranks, and embark upon the path of a decisive change. The party is now facing the task of completing crucial restructuring within itself, in order to renew itself and be reborn, to consolidate the people's confidence in the party cause and in the socialist ideal. Only thus can it be the political, intellectual, and moral vanguard of society. The restructuring of the party is a precondition and integral part of restructuring entire society.

In this context the BCP Central Committee considers as necessary:

1. To convene 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress on 19 March 1990 in accordance with the exceptional importance of the present moment in the party's and country's life, and in accordance with the thousands of wishes and recommendations of party members.

The Central Committee instructs the Politburo to submit to the next plenum proposals on:

—the congress' agenda;

—the basic document, that will be adopted by the congress;

—the composition of the commission in charge of preparing those documents;

—the manner of electing the congressional delegates and the representation quotas.

A vision on the Communist Party and its role, functions, and place in developing society, with the active participation of the party organizations and all Communists, must be worked out during the preparations for the congress. This vision must be worked out in timely manner. It must be cleansed of prejudices and deformations.

The new vision on the party must be formed in practical activity, under conditions of sociopolitical pluralism, and on the basis of a broad political platform that unites the interests of the broadest circle of social groups and public movements.

2. The definition of party policy and the determination of party activity trends at all levels should be effected with the most active participation of Communists and all working people by taking into consideration the people's needs and the laws of social development. This must be viewed as a primary condition for the active and conscious participation of the party organizations and their members in implementing the party programs and decisions.

The discussion and solution of the crucial problems of the country and territorial communities must be preceded by mass polls and referendums.

Party policy must be coordinated with society's objective tendencies and possibilities and relieved of elements of subjective approach and arbitrariness in adopting decisions. The people must be approached in a competent and honest manner and clearly told whether their requirements are justified or not, what could be done, and what exceeds the possibilities at a specific stage.

3. Inner-party life should be democratized. The rights of the Communists and the autonomy of the party organizations must be expanded.

Asserting democratic and humane elements in party life and activity must be directed toward: finally eliminating the one-man command and monopoly on the truth in the party; ensuring real pluralism of opinions, while respecting the point of view and personal dignity of every Communist; getting rid of the Stalinist notions of bureaucratic unity; guaranteeing the freedom of opinions and discussions and constructing new mutual relations between majority and minority, whose rights and interests will be defended; overcoming the vicious practice of elections staged "by the top;" strictly observing the democratic procedures, the principle of elections, the multiple variants and secrecy in electing all organs and leaders; and the right of the primary party organizations to propose candidates for the higher party organs, as well as propose to recall from their posts those who have not justified their confidence.

All obstacles that prevent the development of glasnost must be immediately removed. The Communists must be granted access to the documents of the oblast and municipal committees and inner-party secrets must be eliminated.

The higher party organizations must return to the primary party organizations the prerogatives that belong to them by right—real participation in forming policy at all levels and assessing the results of its implementation; autonomy in resolving local issues; and implementing a comprehensive and public control from the bottom over the activity of the leading organs and cadres.

Broad space must be given to the public principle in party work. The party apparatus must be reduced and its composition renewed in a qualitative manner by attracting morally pure and principle-minded Communists with high political culture and close relations with the people. The apparatus' structure and functions must conform the new tasks.

4. The moral-political crisis of our society requires an active stand in life and political behavior from every Communist, wherever he is. The Communists must lead the struggle for the renewal of society.

A personal example in everything and everywhere, selfless and honest work, observing labor and state discipline, high moral and ethics, initiative and an active approach—this is what the political moment requires from us.

The Communists must not close themselves in their organizations, but actively participate in the public movements and organizations, while defending the party's political principles and goals.

The Communists must show initiative in quickly eliminating from the state and economic organs the injustice and other deformations that have accumulated under the supremacy of the administrative-command system.

5. The party composition must decisively improve. The party must open its ranks to all sincere supporters of restructuring who accept its ideology and social ideal.

The procedure of admitting new party members must be simplified and democratized. The bureaucratic practice of limiting the number of new members must be eliminated. The trust in the primary party organizations must increase by allowing them to independently resolve issues related to admission to the party.

At the same time, the primary party organizations must relieve themselves of those party members who have compromised themselves, and who are incapable of leading the working people toward implementing the new political course.

6. Every primary party organization must alone determine its specific role in assuming political responsibility for implementing the course of restructuring.

Under the present conditions, the party organizations must be headed by people who have authority among the Communists and non-party members.

The party organizations, and especially their bureaus, must remember that the implementation of the party line in the state and economic organs must take place exclusively and solely through the Communists who have leading posts in those organs. Any other interference must be fully eliminated.

The Central Committee finds it necessary that the primary party organizations review cases of expulsion of Communists, or heavy penalties given them, in the past, when such decisions were adopted according to instructions or pressure "from the top," or for other subjective motives.

The Central Committee considers that the party committees at all levels and the control-auditing commissions must, in a timely manner, review the cases of all Communists who were expelled or punished not by the primary organizations themselves, and restore justice. This must also take place at the initiative of the primary party organizations and their bureaus.

7. The deformations in the party's cadre policy must be eliminated. The Communists, primary organizations, and party organs at all levels must revoke their trust in leading cadres, who undermined the party's prestige and proved incapable of implementing its policy. At the same time, a struggle must be conducted against attempts to slander honest cadres, who are devoted to socialism.

The Central Committee considers that the selection, promotion, and assessment of cadres must take place on the basis of competition, multiple-variant approach, equal rights of self-expression, the principle of a fixed term of office, and age limits for leading posts.

The Plenum decides to introduce as of 11 December 1989 the restriction of holding a leading post for no longer than two terms of office. The first term of office for leading party cadres must end by the next party congress.

8. The ideological values must be profoundly analyzed, and the party ideological work must be organized in a new manner.

The radical restructuring of the party and society, mastering and implementing the new political course, and analyzing and resolving the problems in various spheres with the participation of all people must become the main contents of the ideological work.

The new conditions require a change in the tone, style, and spirit of the ideological dialogue between the party and society. The party cadres and activists must learn to respect the opinions of those who think differently, as well as other value orientations, the freedom of conscience, and the people's religious sentiments. The reasons for and rich information about the party policy, as well as the profound knowledge of the objective natural laws of social development must form the foundation of the discussions.

The party will further rely on the active participation of the mass media in developing glasnost and democracy. At the present responsible stage, the country needs the constructive contribution of all journalists and their activity in uniting and rallying the forces of all people for successfully resolving the fateful tasks that they face. The people must learn from our mass media all news about Bulgaria and the world.

9. Confirming its consistent line of rallying the forces of the workers' class, the working peasants, youth, and women around the ideas of restructuring, the party underlines the role and responsibility of the intelligentsia in renewing society.

The plenum feels that it is necessary once and for all to stop the incompetent interference in and assessment of works and tendencies, the suppression of unconventional thinking, and the searches in the scientific, artistic, and technological creativity.

The party will further support the development of self-management and pluralism in the intellectual sphere, the total freedom, and the independence of the creative and scientific-technical unions and associations.

Assessing the importance of the educational system in developing the spiritual and intellectual potential of the nation, the Central Committee finds it necessary to adopt urgent measures for its democratization, and for releasing the creative activity of the pupils, students, and teachers. Priority must be given to resolving the problems of the secondary and higher education, while taking into account the requirements of the modern scientific-technical revolution and the experience of the developed countries.

10. The party confirms its readiness for equal cooperation with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union as its traditional ally in the struggle for democracy and socialism and a partner in constructing the socialist law-governed state.

11. The Central Committee thinks that fundamentally new relations between the party and the political and social organizations, movements, and initiatives are necessary. Those mutual relations must be based on equality, partnership, and respect for their independence. The party will further rely on the active role of the Communists, who are members of those organizations.

The plenum greets the decision of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, which proclaimed the independence of its organs and organizations vis-a-vis the political parties, state organs and structures, the economic and administrative leaderships, and other social organizations and movements, while defending the working people's legal rights and justified demands. Such independence is in the spirit of the revolutionary traditions of the Bulgarian trade union movements and corresponds to the new role and place of the trade unions in the socialist renewal of society.

The Central Committee thinks that the Communists must actively participate in the work of the Fatherland Front for developing civic self-management.

The plenum attributes special importance to work with youth and earning their confidence. The Communists and party organizations will support the efforts of the Komsomol and other youth organizations, aimed at facilitating the active participation of youth in socialist renewal.

The party assesses the emergence and activity of the new independent movements and structures as an expression of socialist pluralism. The party is prepared to conduct a constructive dialogue and extensively cooperate with those movements and structures, which are struggling for democracy and social renewal on the basis of socialism, while observing the country's laws and Constitution. Simultaneously, the party will combat by political means those movements and structures that deny socialism.

12. The plenum thinks that the party policy of consolidating the people must be based on total equality of all Bulgarian citizens before the law, regardless of their social status, religious affiliation, cultural traditions, and ethnic self-awareness.

The Central Committee instructs the Politburo to establish a representative party commission, which will comprehensively and profoundly analyze this vitally important problem and propose, as soon as possible, a platform of resolving it in a lasting manner.

13. Restructuring requires a thrifty and effective foreign policy, coordinated with the real national interests and real possibilities of the country. The foreign political, foreign economic, and international cultural activity must be placed under the effective control of the National Assembly.

The plenum confirms the priority importance of relations and cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, the active participation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the Warsaw Pact and the EEC, and maintaining good-neighborly relations with the Balkan states.

The processes in the contemporary world and overcoming the split in Europe that has begun, afford the possibility to analyze in a new manner our place in constructing the common European house, and the country's mutual relations with and participation in the existing and newly emerging European and world structures and institutions.

Maintaining sufficient defense capability and observing its obligations as an ally, the People's Republic of Bulgaria must make an adequate contribution to disarmament. As an immediate step in this direction, the Plenum proposes to announce the budget expenditures for defense purposes, and the strength and armaments of the Bulgarian People's Army, at the forthcoming National Assembly session.

The specific character of the internal development and restructuring in each socialist country must be taken into account while developing relations with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries. The possibilities of establishing contacts with newly emerging political and social forces must be assessed.

The new party course places Bulgaria in a favorable international situation. This requires the BCP to utilize those possibilities for developing cooperation with a much wider range of political organizations, movements, and forces—social democratic, liberal, Christian democratic, and so forth.

The Central Committee points out that the new political course of the party can succeed only under conditions of a real participation of all the people in its practical implementation. It is only through the labor and efforts of all and everywhere that the country can overcome its present crisis situation, ensure its comprehensive development along the path of socialism, and guarantee the happiness and well-being of Bulgaria's present and future generations.

Sofia Lawyers Seek End to Party's Leading Role

AU1412150289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Dec 89 p 6

[Text] On 4 December, the lawyers working in Sofia's legal offices took part in a mass meeting. As a token of respect and gratitude to their progressive predecessors, a wreath was placed at the memorial plaque in the Palace of Justice that honors Bulgarian lawyers who have died in the struggle against fascism and capitalism.

Many other jurists joined the meeting organized by the lawyers. Many of Sofia's jurists demonstrated their disagreement with the weaknesses in the legislative and judicial activity until now by carrying slogans such as "Enough legal nihilism!," "The Palace of Justice is symbol of legality—return it to the organs of justice!," and by shouting "Democracy! Democracy! The court Is not a museum!," and singing patriotic songs.

The resolution that was read calls for Article 1 of the Constitution [referring to leading role of the party] to be removed, legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government to be separated, a Constitutional Court to be established, constitutional guarantees to be adopted for free and independent prosecuting organs, and the Law on Citizens' Property to be abolished.

Good Relations Possible With Turkey

TA1412175389 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Report by Emre Aygen from Sofia]

[Text] We talked today with the No. 1 name in Bulgaria these days, Petur Mladenov, the foreign minister who served 18 years under Zhivkov, who was ousted on 10 November. We talked with him while he was going into parliament today. Here is our conversation:

[Begin recording in French with superimposed Turkish translation] [Aygen] Mr Mladenov: What do you think about the situation of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria? [Mladenov] I can only say this: As a former foreign minister and the current president, I have always wanted, and now want—as do my people—to have good-neighborly relations with Turkey. I have always wanted good relations with Turkey. I am utterly convinced we will achieve this.

[Aygen] Can we expect something from the 9 January talks?

[Mladenov] Certainly, but that is all for now. [end recording]

Government Answers Human Rights Committee

AU1512194389 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—Recently the Bulgarian Human Rights Committee has received a number of complaints from citizens who have visited Turkey or have expressed desire to do so, that ungrounded measures against them are undertaken on the side of the local administrative bodies.

The Human Rights Committee has turned to the chairman of the Council of Ministers with requests for humane and just resolution of the questions set in the complaints.

The Council of Ministers has informed the Human Rights Committee that in this connection a letter has been sent to the executive committees of the regional people's councils with instructions not to take citizens out of the houses, which they have sold to the state in connection with their travel to Turkey. The letter instructs avovo [as received] permit them to buy the houses, if they want, as well as not to send them to other place of residence.

Deputy Premier Meets With U.S. Congressmen

LD1412201189 Prague CTK in English 1929 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Valter Komarek received here today U.S. Congressmen Richard Gephard and Thomas Lantos.

He described the visit of the U.S. Congressmen as a symbol of restoration of the two countries' traditionally good relations which were established by Czechoslovakia's first President Tomas Garrigue Masaryk and which, unfortunately, had many shadows on their official level in the past 40 years.

Speaking about economic tasks Valtr Komarek said that the market economy will be pursued in the country amid development of all forms of ownership and Czechoslovak economy will be opened to the world. It is necessary, however, to avoid inflation, unemployment and excessive indebtedness in these processes, the Czechoslovak official pointed out.

In an interview for Czechoslovak mass media at the end of the reception, U.S. Congressman Richard Gephard said that all that has happened in Czechoslovakia is confirmation of human rights and freedoms which are the principles the U.S. people highly respect. The Americans are pleased to see what is going on in Czechoslovakia, he said.

He added that he was briefed on the presidential elections but that the economy and prospects for improving the two countries' economic ties were much more spoken about.

CSSR, U.S. Firms Sign Cooperation Agreement

AU1512060989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] An agreement on long-term cooperation in the development and production of electronic control systems was signed by the Czechoslovak Uranium Industry state enterprise and the U.S. Johnson Controls company in Prague on Wednesday [6 December].

Daily Warns Against Annulment of Soviet Article 6

LD1612114389 Prague CTK in English 0943 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 16 (CTK)—The annulment of Article Six of the Soviet Constitution on the leading role of the Communist Party in society would threaten reforms in the Soviet Union, the Czech youth daily MLADA FRONTA said today, adding that this applied to the present situation but not the future. The paper said that the situation in the USSR at present resembles "an overheated boiler with steam looking for an outlet. The danger of explosion menaces in hundreds of places." This would not apply only to the USSR or the neighbouring countries, the paper said, and added that the world has been looking for stability and for ways of solving regional conflicts for a long time and today is heading in this direction. The condition, however, is stability in the world's largest country which needs above all a calming of the situation and reaching at least the first signs of an improvement in the economy. Then the reforms continue at a faster pace, MLADA FRONTA said, and added that there is still a long way to go before Gorbachev is as successful at home as he is outside his country.

GDR President Gerlach Pays Working Visit

Received by Kucera

LD1512104289 Prague CTK in English 1108 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 15 (CTK)—Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and GDR President Manfred Gerlach met for talks here today with Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and Deputy Chairman of the Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kucera.

They informed each other mainly of the political development in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. Of the two parties' positions and their relations to other political and social subjects in the two countries and the preparations of the two parties for free elections.

They also spoke about the preparations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party for its 10th national conference and a special congress of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany. At the end of the talks they discussed the possibilities of further cooperation of the two parties, its extension and forms.

Czechoslovak Socialist Party Chairman Bohuslav Kucera and Chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany Manfred Gerlach signed here today an agreement on friendly cooperation between the two parties for 1990.

The agreement concentrates on a broad exchange of experience from ideological and political activities and on independent responsibility of both parties in forming future of nations of Czechoslovakia and the GDR. Next year, cooperation will be aimed mainly at exchange of information at all levels of organizational structures of the parties, information on international contacts and exchange of lecturers. Cooperation of press organs and publishing houses of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany will deepen.

The chairman of the two parties can modify and complement the agreement in keeping with topical political and social demands.

Received by Calfa

LD1512163589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa held a meeting in the Hrzan Palace in Prague today with Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council. The two officials briefed one another in detail on current developments in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. They also discussed opportunities and new forms of furthering the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries in the future, especially in the economic sphere.

ADN Report

LD1512224989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague (ADN)—Prof Manfred Gerlach, acting chairman of the GDR Council of State, and CSSR Premier Marian Calfa this afternoon held detailed talks on the situation in both countries. Other topics included the possibilities for developing new forms of mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

During the day Gerlach gave an assurance to journalists that there is no room in the GDR for neofascism and anti-Semitism. In a statement, the politician, who is in the CSSR's capital for a working visit, said that such isolated tendencies are being met with all means. Gerlach said that no neofascist parties or organizations would be tolerated in the GDR, i.e. no branch organization of the so-called "Republicans" from the FRG. The nations of Europe, in particular nations neighboring the GDR, may firmly rely on its antifascist policy at all times.

Gerlach believes the GDR is in a dangerous situation because of two main problems. First is the isolated incidents of violence, anarchy, and violations of the law after the nonviolent change brought about by millions of people. An escalation of this development must be prevented and the GDR's perestroyka must proceed without violence.

Second there is the demand for the immediate reunification of Germany. This however—all participants in the roundtable talks in the GDR agreed on this—is not on the agenda because it would mean changing the borders and the balance of power in Central Europe, thus calling into question the results of the postwar period, creating a dangerous situation of instability, and a threat to peace.

In the morning Prof Gerlach held talks in his capacity as Liberal Democratic Party [LDPD] chairman with Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] Chairman Dr Bohuslav Kucera, and signed an agreement with him on cooperation between the two parties in 1990. "At the press conference Gerlach stated for the LDPD that a new socialism could not be fashioned with it in any form. They support a new society and in this start from the assumption of a socially just market economy.

Holds News Conference With Kucera

LD1512193589 Prague CTK in English 1838 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (CTK)—Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Bohuslav Kucera and visiting chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and of the GDR State Council Manfred Gerlach held a press conference here today where they spoke about their talks and signing of an agreement for 1990.

Responding to a question how he views the ten-point program statement of West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Manfred Gerlach said that it comprises several demands which are unacceptable for the GDR, e.g. the reunification of Germany. Within a few days GDR Premier Hans Modrow and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl are to meet in Dresden and to agree, according to Gerlach's opinion, on cooperation aimed at construction of a common European home. Commenting on the situation in mass media in the country the GDR official said that television and radio are still controlled by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and that the coalition of the other five parties therefore demands that it had an access to them and that objectivity in providing information be ensured.

Confers With Havel

LD1512214889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1936 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Prague (ADN)—Prof Manfred Gerlach, acting chairman of the GDR Council of State and chairman of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany], this evening pointed to a harmonious point of view that the policy of democratic renewal offers still better prerequisites for close cooperation between the two nations and states. He said this after a meeting in Prague this evening with Vaclav Havel, leading representative of the Czechoslovak Civic Forum and author. He told GDR journalists that this will continue to be shown in the future. It is in the interests of both nations, he agreed with Havel, that the two German states work together well; however, German unity is not on the agenda. Such issues must be discussed at a later time. Gerlach described both parties' agreement on the necessity of reacting to all neofascist and antisemitic tendencies. [passage omitted]

Departs for Home

LD1512230189 Prague CTK in English 2159 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 15 (CTK)—Visiting chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and of the GDR State Council Manfred Gerlach met here Friday with Civic Forum leading representative Vaclav Havel.

Manfred Gerlach ended his visit to Czechoslovakia later today and left for home.

Israeli Diplomat Holds Talks in Prague

AU1512160289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Ambassador Mordekhay D. Paltzur, head of the Israel Interests Office in the Polish People's Republic, was received at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Monday [11 December]. The Israeli diplomat discussed with representatives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues that are of interest to both sides. They also exchanged views on the current situation in the world.

Israelis To Get Visas Without 'Difficulties'

TA1412111689 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 14 Dec 89 pp A1, 2

[Report by Europe-based correspondent Sha'ul Ben-Hayim]

[Excerpt] Israelis will soon be able to receive visas to the CSSR without any difficulties, just as citizens of other Western countries do. This was agreed in talks Ambassador Mordekhay Paltzur, head of the Israel Interests Office in Warsaw, held in Prague with heads of the CSSR Foreign Ministry.

Paltzur said that Israelis will be able to receive visas at CSSR consulates or at border posts authorized to issue such documents. The Czechoslovaks hinted that they would be prepared to permit the start of talks between the national airlines on a regular air link between the two countries. [passage omitted]

RUDE PRAVO on Resumption of Israeli Ties

LD1612100489 Prague CTK in English 0800 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 16 (CTK)—Reassessment taking place in many spheres in Czechoslovakia at present will probably concern many aspects of its foreign policy, with the question of resuming diplomatic ties with Israel coming to the forefront, the Czechoslovak Communist Party daily RUDE PRAVO said today.

The daily said that the severing of diplomatic ties in 1967 was "an extreme and in its essence a demonstrative step", and it was necessary to consider the unquestionably maximalistic character of this decision and its purposefulness as it had no tangible influence on Israel's policy.

The paper said that turning coats in foreign policy is usually not aesthetic nor purposeful, and added that Palestinians deserve active support and they have it also from countries friendly towards Israel.

A logical idea is that if a country wants to influence another country's policy it is done better if they have diplomatic contacts, RUDE PRAVO said. The issue has its pros and cons. Which aspect will prevail naturally depend also on Middle East developments but perhaps it might be the intention to be able to influence to a greater extent these developments that will prevail, the daily said.

Vaclav Havel Statement on 'Future of Europe'

LD1612121289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Vaclav Havel granted an interview to Channel 4 of British TV. He spoke, among other things, about the future of Europe. He expressed the conviction that after some time no military blocks will be needed in Europe, neither the Warsaw Pact or NATO. Vaclav Havel at the same time said that as the reforms continue there will be no need to talk about so-called East Europe or Western part of the continent. One will be able to talk about one Europe only. According to his interview for the British TV, Vaclav Havel considers Czechoslovakia a part of central Europe, a country which is in the true center of the entire continent.

Johanes TV Address on Foreign Policy

LD0812001589 Prague CTK in English 2250 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's foreign policy should act towards increasing the prestige of the country in the world and should follow its own interests especially, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes said in his televised speech here today.

He pointed out that Czechoslovakia will fulfil its commitments within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), that it will pursue activities mainly on the European scale and will develop ties with its neighbours.

Johanes said that in the year he has held the post of foreign minister many steps have been taken testifying to the fact that Czechoslovakia is being engaged in the civilization process, e.g. an agreement with the EEC, establishment of contacts with the European Parliament and NATO. For the first time in eleven years the foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia and the United States have met.

As to cadre issues of the foreign service Johanes said that a much broader spectrum of professionals not affiliated to any party or representatives of other political parties could be represented in the Foreign Ministry. He announced that he submitted today to the federal government a proposal for recalling 21 Czechoslovak ambassadors. "This is the first step and we shall continue so as to bring the Czechoslovak foreign service to a high professional level", the Czechoslovak foreign minister stressed.

Johanes Proposes Recall of 21 Ambassadors

LD0812204189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] In the interest of improving the quality of the foreign service and of putting right some incorrect cadre decisions by the former Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium, CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes proposed that the federal government recall 21 ambassadors from CSSR embassies abroad.

At the same time, he began talks on the new appointment in the Czechoslovak foreign service of representatives of all political parties, as well as of those without any party affiliation, who possess the required professional and character standard.

Further Condemnations, Views on 1968 Actions

Government Condemns Action

AU0612094689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Statement of Attitude on Troop Entry"]

[Text] The CSSR Government considers the entry of the troops from five Warsaw Pact states into Czechoslovakia in 1968 to have been a violation of the norms governing relations between sovereign states. The federal government instructs Premier Ladislav Adamec to acquaint the Soviet Government with this standpoint.

At the same time, the federal government suggests to the Soviet Government that negotiations be opened on an intergovernmental agreement dealing with the temporary presence of Soviet troops on CSSR territory. It charges Foreign Affairs Minister Jaromir Johanes with the task of conducting these negotiations. In this, the federal government proceeds from the premise that the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops must also be resolved in harmony with the course of the all-European disarmament process.

The CSSR Government is prepared to set up, together with other countries involved, a group of historians who will comprehensively assess all matters connected with August 1968 events. It charges CSSR Premier Marian Calfa with the task of opening negotiations on the establishment of such a group.

Adamec Calls for Reappraisal

AU0612135489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Dec 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The Federal Government Held Session"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Government held a meeting on Sunday [3 December] morning. Ladislav Adamec, its premier, gave a briefing on his talks with representatives of the political parties and social organizations, talks that led to the proposal for the formation of a new government. He thanked members of the federal government who are leaving their posts for the work they carried out.

The CSSR Government has released Karel Kvapil from his post as deputy director general of Czechoslovak Radio and has appointed Karel Stary, Czechoslovak Radio correspondent in France, to this post. At the same time, the CSSR Government has released Otto Cmolik from his post as director general of CTK and has appointed Ales Benda, editor of the YOUNG WORLD magazine, to this post.

The first session of the new CSSR Government was held in the afternoon. Ladislav Adamec, its premier, read a statement on the main tasks for the future.

At its session on Sunday, the CSSR Government adopted a point of view on the events of August 1968. Ladislav Adamec stated: "Adopting a point of view on the August events in Czechoslovakia 21 years ago cannot be only our internal affair. This also concerns the other five Warsaw Pact member countries. Their state organs or representatives have reevaluated or are reevaluating the intervention made by these countries' armies.

"I consider it to be essential that the federal government makes an official statement on these issues. I have already given my personal opinion in my televised speech on Wednesday [29 November]. This was positively received in our country, by our allies, and in the world. I am convinced that after the political evaluation of August 1968 by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and some citizens' initiatives, we also must express our opinion. Our point of view will help to raise Czechoslovakia's international authority, will contribute to improving the atmosphere between states, and will create more favorable prerequisites for a nationwide dialogue in our country."

Further Repercussions, Reports on 17 Nov Incident

Six Policemen Charged

LD1512172889 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Rudolf Tomasovic, press spokesman of the main prosecution department of the Czechoslovak Prosecutor General's Office, briefed CTK reporters today on current progress in the inquiry into the security forces' intervention against students on 17 November.

He said that no charges for the crime of causing general danger have yet been laid. Six people are being prosecuted for abusing the powers of a public official, some of them concurrently with the crime of causing bodily harm. They are members of the National Security Corps who intervened on the scene in an illegal way. Three people are in custody.

He added that civilians are not subject to military law.

SSR 'Condemns' Actions

LD1512185289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] A statement of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government on the events of 17 November this year in Prague has been made public in Bratislava.

The government totally dissociates itself from a joint statement of the former governments of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Czech Socialist Republic and Slovak Socialist Republic of 20 November, which described the intervention by the forces of order as well-founded and legal.

The Slovak Government condemns the repressive and brutal intervention by order enforcement units against the participants in a peaceful student demonstration. It expresses regret that it happened namely on the day when students throughout the world recalled the tragic events of 17 November 1939 in Prague.

The Slovak Socialist Republic Government, faithful to the democratic traditions of our nations and to the humanitarian legacy of our history, will adopt all necessary measures in its power in order to prevent a repetition of such regrettable events.

Stepan Denies Giving Orders

LD1512214389 Prague CTK in English 2032 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (CTK)—"I announce that I did not give any direct instructions, orders, approvals or disapprovals, it was not in my competence," former head secretary of the Communist Party Prague City Committee Miroslav Stepan said in a statement with which he turned to the Joint Parliamentary Commission supervising investigation of the November 17 events in Prague.

"I unequivocally disagree with and condemn what happened," Stepan said in connection with the brutal police action against the November 17 peaceful demonstration of students in Prague.

"I do not agree with the claim that I influenced the commanding officers of the public security forces during the action. I do not even know whether the three high-ranking officers with whom I spoke on telephone were the commanders," Stepan said adding that during that evening he was in contact by telephone with high representatives of the Federal Ministry of Interior and the municipal administration of the public security forces. "The only reason was my care as a political representative for the development of the situation in the city," he said and continued: "I am convinced that such talks cannot be characterized as a way of influencing the commanding officers and not at all as instructions...our political stand was firm—not to intervene."

'Tens of Thousands' March

LD1712194489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] As was the case a month ago, tens of thousands gathered today on Albertov Street [in Prague] to take part in a march to commemorate the events of 17 November. From Albertov, the march followed the same route to Vysehrad, and from there along the Vltava embankment to Narodni Trida. Thousands of people joined the march along the route to commemorate, along with the students, the events of which we should never see the like again.

Then the group moved on to Wenceslas Square where the march to commemorate 17 November is reaching its climax right now.

Strikes To Continue

LD1712212589 Prague CTK in English 2022 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Prague Dec 17 (CTK)—Students marched through Prague this afternoon to commemorate the events of November 17, 1989, along the same route they went through a month ago. [passage omitted]

After marchers assembled at Wenceslas Square, member of the National Coordinating Strike Committee of Students Martin Mejstrik said the strike of students would last until guarantees are given of the irreversibility of the way from the totalitarian system to democracy. He said students saw this guarantee in Vaclav Havel, Martin Mejstrik appealed to the students to demonstrate their attitude in the front of the parliament which will decide about the country's future president in the next few days.

Trade Union Leadership, Strike Committees Confer

LD0812151289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The Central Council of Trade Unions chairman and representatives of its Presidium held talks in Prague today with the Strike Committees Association delegation and with the Civic Forum representatives regarding the trade union movement situation.

The two sides agreed on their wish to preserve the unity of the trade unions, which has been democratically created from the primary organization level up to the higher trade union bodies. Trade unions should be independent of political parties, state, and economic bodies at all levels. No political parties should be active in the enterprises, plants, and other institutions.

Regarding the Central Council of Trade Unions and its power to act on behalf of primary trade union organizations, the Strike Committees Association believes that the Central Council of Trade Unions does not enjoy the confidence of its members.

Support Grows for Dubcek To Be Named President

SNC Statement

AU1412170489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Dec 89 p 1

[CTK report by Antonia Vymazalova: "New Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— The Presidium of the Slovak National Council [SNR] held a session yesterday with Rudolf Schuster, SNR chairman, in the chair. The session was attended by Milan Cic, premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic and Dusan Janota, chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The SNR Presidium declared null and void the statement on the domestic political situation adopted by the former SNR Presidium on 21 November 1989.

The SNR Presidium proposed to the Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek, a man who is a guarantor of democracy, as candidate for the office of the CSSR president. He is the most important figure of modern Czechoslovak history, a man who was the first to usher in new ideas moving our state into the European home, a firm and loyal man who adheres to his convictions. [passage omitted]

Slovak Bodies Statement

AU1512174389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Dec 89 p 1

["PA, CTK"-signed report: "Let the People Vote Directly"]

[Text] Bratislava— People's attention these days is focused on the question of who will become the next CSSR president. Various views and proposals are being put forward in lively debates. In the developing democratic atmosphere, the idea is gaining support that the president should be elected directly by the people, from among several candidates. The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Action Committee identifies with this demand. At its meeting yesterday, it fully endorsed the proposals of citizens and various organizations that the election of the CSSR president be carried out from among several candidates by means of a referendum.

At the Monday [11 December] session of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, the proposal of Alexander Dubcek's candidacy for the presidency was put forward. The proposal was endorsed by political parties—by the Democratic Party, the Freedom Party, and the CPSL Action Committee—as well as by representatives of social organizations associated in the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front: the Socialist Youth Union, the Slovak Union of Consumer Cooperatives, the Union of Cooperative Farmers, the Slovak Union of Housing Cooperatives, and the Slovak Union of Production Cooperatives.

Slovak Front, Council View

LD1612181489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Meeting today, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovak National Front, and the Presidium of the Slovak National Council supported a proposal for the candidature of Alexander Dubcek for president of the republic. They stressed that this is a wish of many citizens, who know him as a democratic and respected person.

Dubcek Confirms Candidacy

LD1712210289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Alexander Dubcek has confirmed that he continues his candidacy for the office of president of the Republic. In an interview with Italian newspapers he went on to recall that his candidacy had been proposed and supported by the Slovak National Council, the Socialist Union of Youth, the Freedom Party and the Slovak Revival Party. The American AP agency has confirmed that this statement runs counter to reports according to which Dubcek supports Vaclav Havel's candidature. As the agency noted reports were said to have been ciruclating in Prague yesterday that Dubcek had allegedly agreed to the post of the chairman [speaker] of the parliament while Havel would become the president.

CTK Interviews Havel on Presidential Ambitions

LD1512214489 Prague CTK in English 2007 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (CTK)—"I myself cannot answer the question whether I am a suitable person for the function (of president). You must ask others," Czechoslovak presidential candidate dramatist Vaclav Havel told CTK today in an interview that opens a series of interviews in which CTK wants to introduce the most serious candidates for presidency.

Answering questions of CTK Director-General Ales Benda, Vaclav Havel said that he decided definitively to run for the presidency only three hours before he was put forward by the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence at a rally in Prague's Wenceslas Square. He added that the reason for his decision was that he prefers common interests to his personal ones. "Three hours before the candidature was declared I had come to the conviction that it is in the common interest for me to accept it," Vaclav Havel said.

He added that his candidature is "from the first moment linked to one condition: That no wedge is driven between Alexander Dubcek and myself. Neither the Civic Forum nor the Public Against Violence, its sister organization, wish anybody to succeed in driving a wedge between Slovak and Czech voters."

On his election program Vaclav Havel said that he would consider it the most important task and his duty to protect the peaceful, peaceloving, and dignified character of the social changes which some people call a revolution and which started in Czechoslovakia three weeks ago. "It was started, as all of you know, by students who gave this revolution, if we call it so, its beautiful face which is being admired by the whole world. I would consider it my important task to prevent this beautiful face from being disgraced by intrigues, scheming, and dirt of any kind," Vaclav Havel said.

He emphasized that he would also take maximum effort to ensure that no man-hunt takes place in this country. "We need justice but not revenge," Havel stressed.

As for the Communist Party, he said that among its more than one and half million members there are many people who wish this country to live in democracy. "I believe that it is the duty and task of the Communist Party to revive itself as soon as possible, to bring to its head the best people who are friends of the new and opponents to the old order. I can hardly imagine that there could be any smooth progress without the potential hidden inside the Communist Party," Vaclav Havel said.

He further stated that he has been put forward as a presidential candidate by the Civic Forum "and my program is linked to the ideals of the Civic Forum." The Civic Forum believes that the president, who should be elected as soon as possible, should be a "temporary" president, not a president-symbol. It should be a president who would give certain guarantees that he will lead this country towards free elections from which a new parliament will freely emerge. This parliament, in harmony with the constitutional tradition, will freely elect a new president for a five-year term, Havel said.

Asked about his attitude to social certainties in Czechoslovakia which have always been linked to socialism, Vaclav Havel said: "for me it is not important with which word social certainties are linked but what they are like. I believe they should be much greater than provided by what many people call socialism and what is connected with the forty-year era of the totalitarian way of government."

On the Civic Forum's rejection of free presidential elections, Havel said that one of the main reasons is that the huge credit gained by Czechoslovakia in the world in the past three weeks must not be harmed and wasted. The referendum would require at least three months of preparations, three out of the six months during which free elections should be prepared and many necessary changes carried out. These three months would be lost for a presidential campaign that would be "just a kind of playing at America in a country that is not America. I believe in the political culture of this nation. I believe that a good president would be chosen in this referendum. We are not afraid that the nation would choose a wrong president. We are afraid that three months of this so much important time—and maybe that these six months are the most important time in the history of this country since October 28, (1918)—would be lost this way," Vaclav Havel stressed.

Asked about whom he would like to see at Prague Castle in case he himself is not elected, Vaclav Havel said that it should be "a politician who does not talk much and who is able to take quick decisions, who knows how to act and how to work."

Havel's Position Not 'Underestimated'

AU1812114289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report: "With the Participation of All"]

[Text] Prague—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] holds the view that it is necessary to resolve the issue of the CSSR president collectively with the participation of all significant political forces in our society.

This was emphasized yesterday by Vasil Mohorita, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, at a news conference held in Prague. He said talks with experts had reached the conclusion that the 14-day time limit laid down by the Constitution for electing the CSSR president is too short and that it is necessary to extend it—probably to 45-60 days.

In reply to a question put by CTK, Vasil Mohorita said that so far discussions between CPCZ representatives and the other political streams had concentrated on the method of electing the president and not on considering individuals' candidacy.

Asked about the CPCZ's view of Vaclav Havel, Vasil Mohorita replied that the party does not underestimate his position in society and that it considers him to be a true representative of the current political movement in our country.

Obroda Club Dissociates From Candidate

LD1712165689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Representatives of Obroda, the Club for Democratic Socialism, adopted a statement today. It says that the representatives have acknowledged that Dr Cestmir Cisar has left the Obroda club and represents an independent politician, who speaks only for himself. Obroda has never backed his conduct during his nomination as a president and dissociates itself from it.

Committee Favors Postponing Presidential Election

LD1812131689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] At their session today the members of the Constitutional-Legal Committees of the two Federal Assembly chambers supported the proposal to prolong the deadline for the election of new president from 14 to maximum 40 days.

The deputies recommended this change be approved by the Federal Assembly session tomorrow.

When asked by deputies whether a direct election of the president was ruled out Blanka Hykova said the referendum was too complicated a solution in the current situation and too great an infringment of the Constitution. This was also a result of the agreement of representatives of chief political forces at the roundtable last week. The participants agreed there that a president should be a citizen of the Czech Socialist Republic who is not a member of any political party.

The deputies have also expressed their concern about the atmosphere at the front of the parliament building where every day 100-200 students demonstrate in suport of Vaclav Havel, and tomorrow special trains are expected to arrive in Prague.

Therefore, the participants in the today's meeting adopted an addendum to their resolution in which they ask the Federal Assembly chairman to secure a calm course for the parliamentary session. They also want him to ask the representatives of the chief political forces to meet and discuss the current situation and the candidacy of individual persons, as deputies still do not know who are and who are not official candidates.

Hegenbart on Party View of 'New Society'

AU0512123289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Article by Rudolf Hegenbart, Central Committee member and head of Central Committee department of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: "The New Society and Our Party"]

[Text] We have entered a completely new situation in the life of our society, in which we can witness how the entire society is being restructured both in the political sense and in its views. This society will be far more differentiated that it was in the past. As different opinions conflict with each other on the basis of equality, a great variety of ideas will be presented, views will be sifted and verified, and attitudes differentiated.

Our party must learn how to operate in the field of these new tendencies, i.e. it must cultivate the ability to make use of the debates and contradictions in society for the benefit of progress, because debates are the force that sets development in motion. One need not fear them as they were feared before; even less must they be rejected. It is imperative to accelerate the contradictions of many phenomena so as to enable society to achieve a qualitatively higher level of development by overcoming them. The intellectual climate of our society must be filled with the politically and legally anchored awareness that the interests of the people and the nation, of democracy, progress, and the development of the socialist society, stand above our society's political system and are binding for all political parties, organizations, and informal associations. This also applies to our party, which must prove that its program will mean social prosperity for the people, and socioeconomic and cultural progress also in the future.

It is a Matter of a Dignified Position in the All-European Movement

If we, as a party, want to meet the demands of this new phase, we ourselves must reassess quite a few things, both in terms of ideas and in the organizational sense. The people's spontaneous action on Monday [27 November] was, in my view, a symbol of the bitter period of stagnation, of the use of administrative means of power, of a political and moral crisis. It was also a sign for us to accelerate the policy of restructuring and democratization, to engage in intensive responsible work for the advancement of our socialist fatherland and for the achievement of qualitatively higher standards. Let us lose no more time; let us be decisive, convincing, and courageous in seeking our firm place in the struggle for the cause of socialism, for the cause of the future European home with all its typical features, such as universal human values and human solidarity.

It is necessary to realize that we can enter this European home politically, as a socialist country, solely as a part of the new European left. In other words, it is a matter of our party taking up a dignified position in this all-European movement without relinquishing its Marxist-Leninist positions.

Within the framework of enhancing the people's activity in society and the party's authority, it is necessary to resolutely and unambiguously distinguish our practices from our policy, which in the past led to social stagnation. It is high time to reintroduce into party life the atmosphere of fearless action, greater independence, and a higher sense of responsibility, to cultivate the cult of truth with regard to all historical events, and to increase the struggle against half-truths and lies. It is high time to put an end to compromises, since compromise solutions discredit us most, not only in the eyes of the membership base, but also in the eyes of the public, while at the same time they weaken the party's action ability. It is high time to raise practical policy to the highest scientific level, to rid it of everything that distorted it in the past and is distorting it now. It is high time to change the traditional view of the sources of progress, which projects the present into the future. Our future political decisions should be guided by the awarenes that the majority of our public is in favor of the further advancement of our society and supports retructuring, while at the same time it demands that restructuring make a far greater impact on the growth of labor productivity as the basic and decisive prerequisite for improving living standards. This must be the focal point of our interests.

However, this does not mean that we should get impatient, it merely requires us to be absolutely convinced that we have made the best possible use of the opportunities we have.

Science and Culture as the Source of Prosperity

The most difficult area of restructuring, and this has not yet been grasped in our country, is the restructuring of the distorted consciousness and morality of society, of each and every one of us. Well then, let us carry out intellectual and moral restructuring! Naturally, the prerequisite for this is to tell the truth face to face, and also to be willing to hear it; to eschew demagogy and forego simplified and primitive interpretations of the complicated reality, with all that that entails. Particularly now, when old mechanisms must be speedily dismantled and unsuitable social relations eliminated, and when it is necessary to be in the forefront in encouraging all the new things that are being born, what the younger generation, the students and artists who have the cause of socialism at heart, is today showing us and which we all support, particularly now it is imperative to create an effective political leadership. It must not contain elements of left-wing radicalism, but must respect both the most humane values created by history and the democratic tradition of our peoples. It must make use of our peoples' intellectual and moral potential so that we can part ways with everything that is hampering us in our positive development just as soon as possible and so we can assume the initiative. Let us get rid of the simplified, utopian, romantic revolutionary notions about a uniform development of the new society, and let us give scope to healthy common sense in our economy, politics, science, and culture.

The theoretical and practical deformations have left clear traces in the morality of members of all bodies at all levels; these traces could not but lead to deep conflicts between word and deed. They sapped the energy for undertaking a radical settling of accounts with traditional ideas, bureaucratic methods, and also the false economy which had become alienated from its natural logic and thus also from the interests and equally natural motivation of every working person. Let us put an end to economic indifference, to hypocrisy, apathy, and cynical attitudes toward the people's interests. Let us do everything we can to get political power in the solution of basic problems out of the hands of a narrow ruling group or an individual and really give it to the people, and let us do this in accordance with consistently democratic principles. The need for this is particularly clear in the solution of the main contemporary problem, i.e. the conflict between the development of production forces and production relations, a conflict which was suppressed for years and which has intensified until it has now penetrated the political, ideological, and moral sphere and become the source of political and social conflict. This fact increases the imperative need to enhance authoritative control activities and makes it more necessary than ever to create scope for the initiative of the scientific-technical and intellectual potential, i.e. for the implementation of specialized and objective scientific knowledge, and at the same time for the activities of workers, farmers, artists, and the working people in general as the basic factors and pillars of our society. We cannot afford to ignore the special nature of the methods and forms of our political work during the period of the scientific-technical revolution—they must be oriented on principle toward the basic resources that accelerate social movement.

The intensification of social processes requires the party to intensify its political activity and requires all those who will give new dimensions to the process of scientific-technical development to become more active. This means that we must restructure our own ranks and rid ourselves of the current inefficient political work, provide a better explanation of the theoretical content of the relationship between the party, the state, and society and of their functions, and also explain other issues which crop up in the course of democratization and social restructuring. For the same reason it is necessary to reassess our attitude toward culture and the intelligentsia in general.

The phase of barren romanticism and mere intentions has ended, as has the phase of ideological self-projection, when we went so far as to seek to subordinate reality to our own will, our wishes and precepts by using various pressures. Where reality did not suit us, we refused to respect it, or else regarded it as hostile.

This is particularly true of our attitude to science and culture, the sphere which we have probably betrayed most. It is the very essence of culture to run ahead of things, to constantly verify the justification of existing phenomena, to deviate from recognized and accepted values, norms, and stereotypes. Instead of respecting and supporting this natural trait, instead of attentively listening to and studying every new thought and attitude without prejudice, even if they defied the received view, we issued instructions and ordered people about. No wonder both culture and science, and the people's intellect and creativity in general, were alienated from the party.

If we want to build a really prospering socialist society, whose position in the all-European home would be based on equal rights, we must fully respect this natural, substantial feature of culture. Our program must regard science and culture as the primary source of social progress, since culture represents the mind, heart, and intelligence of the society. Without it we will never carry out restructuring and democratization to the end. Culture must no longer play the role of Cinderella, it must act as a most useful princess, needed by the entire society in the interests of enhancing its culture as the inevitable condition of social prosperity—which includes, above all, economic prosperity. Our party, too, needs culture. It also needs to substantially raise the level of its cultural standards and its intelligence, since without them it will be unable to cope with the new conditions for its activities. If we, as a party, want to meet the demands set for us, we must radically change our work. Our structure is unwieldy, our apparatus is rigid and over-bureaucratic. The way out leads via the establishment of a structure which would guarantee direct contact with the membership base. We have underrated both the people's mature views, and the party's role.

Serving the People's Needs

The strength and work of the cultural front, of students and workers who have hastened to fight for accelerated restructuring and democratization—i.e. for our own program—give us a strong reminder of our responsibility. They confirm the conviction that our cadre policy cannot acquit itself if it is adjusted only formally, cosmetically as it were—it must be understood in a principled manner; one must stop politicking and put an end to the practices and methods which forced a number of functionaries to become less enthusiastic, to relinquish and reject many ideals and values, which were also those of their people, and all in order to protect their own existence.

The success of our times, of the entire revolutionary restructuring, directly depends both on the kind of political vanguard, i.e. Central Committee, that the party has and on the way this vanguard works. This vanguard must live and think in terms of the future, without reverting to past practices in a kind of nostalgic reminiscence.

If we want to win and keep the people's trust, we must preserve the continuity of progress and of true moral values, we must reject the discredited practices of false comradeship and subordinate personal ambitions to the interests of the entire society—we must sincerely serve the people's interests.

The nation's trust must not be put at risk. That is why our Communist Party must issue an action statement that can be generally understood, one that offers all people good prospects and a chance to strive for the realization of these prospects according to their abilities and their vitality. The party must, and will, strive to embody the needs of today and tomorrow, the needs of our society's future, in the intellectual, moral, and professional sense, but also in the way of life practiced by its members.

Urbanek Interviewed on Role of Communists

LD1712204289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Interview with Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, by correspondent Zuzana Stukovska, at the CPSL extraordinary congress in Bratislava on 17 December; Urbanek speaking in Czech—recorded]

[Text] [Stukovska] Regardless of whether Communists will, or will not, operate at workplaces in the future, they have to know what is their role and their mission and this in my view will not avoid having clearly formulated aims. Can you, Comrade General Secretary, explain at least briefly your idea about the strategy and tactics of the currently renewing itself Communist Party?

[Urbanek] I believe that the main task facing the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] in the current period is its purge of all officials who have compromized themselves and who do not have a clean shield, who do not enjoy good relations both with people and the membership base.

Second, the party's renewal on the principals of internal party democracy means that the membership base will decide fundamental political issues.

Third, in its program the party should have a strong social content so that it would be recognized unequivocally that the CPCZ will defend in its program the interests of workers, farmers, the intelligentsia, youth and pensioners.

[Stukovska] There has been a great deal of talk also here at the CPSL [Communist Party of Slovakia] Congress about the CPCZ becoming a modern and left-wing party of a European type. What is a rank-and-file Communist is to understand by this Comrade General Secretary?

[Urbanek] He or she should understand by this that more ideological currents should, or to put it better could, operate within it which would unite under one principal idea, that is, that they are in favor of a socialist course.

[Stukovska] Let us try to define a bit—from the viewpoint of the renewing Communist Party—the term of socialism.

[Urbanek] This is a very difficult question because our former theoreticians did not develop the questions of socialism, for they rather copied books of various academicians from the Soviet Union. In my view the basic principle ought to proceed from the premise that in socialism, although there will exist various forms of ownership, common ownership ought to predominate. The difference ought to be in the fact that when a company goes bankrupt in capitalism people have to leave without a job. In socialism such a development ought to be forseen. Therefore, socialism ought to safeguard a basic social guarantee of the working man—the right to work. The rest ought to be worked out theoretically. As for democracy, I think there should not be any big difference between the capitalist and socialist society.

[Stukovska] Where should an individual Communist seek and find his or her mission at present?

[Urbanek] The main mission of a Communist in the present period lies in him or her not leaving our ranks, in sharing in the shaping of our action program, in sharing in the shaping of the party's policy, in being able to defend all the positive things that have been built in our socialist society, as well as in him or her criticizing openly those officials who have abused their positions, and in demanding the rectification of mistakes, shortcomings and distortions.

[Stukovska] In this connection one more question. What is the CPCZ attitude to the Democratic Forum of Communists? People are frequently asking whether it is a fraction [partial approval], or not?

[Urbanek] I believe, and I have had the opportunity to discuss this issue with a number of members of the Democratic Forum of Communists that there are in it members who are honorable, honest and industrious, but there are other people there who in my view have different interests, and from these it is necessary to dissociate ourselves. But in essence each of us should conduct a dialogue, raproachement with them, since they are members of our party.

Prague Confirms Resignation of CPCZ's Horeni

LD1512194289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium, meeting today, held a wide-ranging discussion on the agenda for the extraordinary party congress [opens 20 December]. It discussed draft temporary organizational regulations up to the 18th congress which will be submitted for approval by the extraordinary party congress. It also approved the course of action taken by representatives of the CPCZ Central Committee at the roundtable talks on 13 December.

On the basis of a resolution by the Central Committee to decide on cadre changes, it released Zdenek Horeni at his own request from the posts of member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and editor-in-chief of RUDE PRAVO. It put Zdenek Porybny in charge of editing RUDE PRAVO.

CPCZ Presidium Discusses Congress Agenda

LD1512222589 Prague CTK in English 2151 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee discussed at its session here today draft agenda of the party extraordinary congress due next week, mainly ideas and remarks on a report on the situation and tasks of the party.

It reviewed a draft provisional organizing order of the party which stressed inter alia that the Czechoslovak Communist Party is a political force which pursues its activities in accord with the Czechoslovak Constitution and laws.

The Presidium agreed that for the future it is necessary that at workplaces, factories, in enterprises, institutions, at schools and in central bodies conditions for activities of communists be preserved. Primary organizations together with district party committees must decide on the form of the activities according to concrete situation.

As a consequence of the abolition of the party's leading role in society, party bodies and organizations will not work as from December 31, 1989 onwards in the Czechoslovak People's Army, Border Guards, units of the Interior Ministry, national Security Corps, prosecution bodies, courts, State Arbitrator's Office, People's Control Committees, offices of the federal and republic governments Presidiums and in the Czechoslovak President's Office. By this the Communist Party wants to ensure that in the interest of the independence of these bodies no political parties or other political movements have their representation there.

According to the resolution of the party Central Committee on deciding cadre issues, the Presidium relieved Zdenek Horeni, at his own request, of the post of party Secretariat member and RUDE PRAVO editor-in-chief and authorized Zdenek Porybny to be at the head of the party's daily's editorial section.

The Presidium approved the action of the party Central Committee representatives at the round table talks on December 13, 1989 in the course of which representatives of the main political forces in the country considered some issues connected with the election of a new Czechoslovak president.

Action Committee Adopts Resolution on Corruption

LD0912095689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] The CPSI [Communist Party of Slovakia] Action Committee adopted a resolution in Bratislava (?yesterday) which, apart from other things, deems invalid the Lesson from Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Congress.

It also demands that the CPSI Control and Audit Commission and other control and audit commissions immediately set up commissions for reexamination of abuse of power, personal enrichment, and corruption of leading party officials at all levels.

It also proposes to the CPCZ Central Committee to immediately suspend Vasil Bilak's party membership and expediently institute disciplinary action against him for crude abuse of power during the time when he held high party posts.

Defense Spokesman on Situation in Armed Forces

LD0612220489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Colonel Stanislav Pohorel, press spokesman for the Federal Ministry of National Defense briefed newsmen in Prague today about the current situation in the Czechoslovak People's Army.

He acquainted them first and foremost with yesterday's order from Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, national defense minister, the principal contents of which are the measures coming from the change to the Czechoslovak Constitution. The national defense minister gave an instruction to amend the first article of the military oath and from all basic clauses—by means of which is directed and implemented the cadres work in the army—the provision about the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party is being omitted. The process of cadres selection and deployment should consistently proceed from military-professional prerequisites and moral characteristics. Measures are also being drafted on changes to regulations on soldiers travelling abroad.

Red Army Square To Be Renamed Jan Palach Square

LD1512205489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] The first roundtable talks between the Council of the Prague National Committee headed by Josef Hajek, the mayor of Prague, and different civic intiatives has been held in a spirit of constructive criticism.

On behalf of the Obroda Club, Josef Kotrc said that the main thing is to elucidate the political guilt borne by the Council of the Prague National Committee for the brutal actions by the Public Security against the students and other demonstrators. He also demanded prompt redress for the injustices done to the people of Prague who had been unjustly persecuted.

Vaclav Blecha, for the Christian Democratic Party, noted that Civic Forum's platform is today the only political force which can be built upon, and warned against any kind of maneuvering and sham tactical ploys.

Zdenek (Rejny) of Civic Forum stressed that the leadership at Prague Town Hall must be—like every other leader in Czechoslovakia—subject to public scrutiny, and the leadership must be made up of people who are unbiased, incorruptible, with high moral principles, and who are specialists in their sphere.

The representatives of the churches put forward demands for the return of their property, which for many years has been used by the State Security and other organizations.

On behalf of university students, Jana Hejbaskova demanded that academic freedoms should be instituted as soon as possible, and that students should be represented on the bodies of the Prague National Committee.

Representatives of other parties also spoke in the discussion.

The representative of the Prague City Czechoslovak Communist Party committee made no comment on the proceedings.

At the end of the proceedings, a communique issued by the representatives of the Prague National Committee and Civic Forum was adopted. The communique notes, among other things, that attention has to be focused on the full application of democratic principles, on setting priorities for promptly rectifying past mistakes, and on creating conditions for the coordinated development of Prague.

The participants agreed to fully support the students' demands in respect of the events of 17 November and the fulfilment of those demands, and to the demand to rename Red Army Square as Jan Palach Square.

They also agreed to restore the monuments and plaques to all victims of the events associated with 21 August 1968.

The participants also agreed to immediately disband the National Security Corps mobile regiment, and to resolve the problem of state security without delay.

In this connection, they call for all archives to be safeguarded so that they cannot be illegally manipulated.

Secret State Security Documents Discovered

LD1612174989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] A store of secret documents of the state security bodies has been discovered in one of the military areas between the Central and West Bohemia regions. Our reporter Jindrich Stahlavsky visited the place:

[Stahlavsky, in Czech] Workers from the Plzen Military Prosecutors' Office are here. The crime investigation service from Pribram is represented as well. Also present is the director of the military training area in which these partially destroyed materials were discovered. Members of security bodies and representatives of Civic forum for Rokycany are here, too.

Military prosecutor Martin Ales said that there are documents marked secret and strictly secret, but also innocent postal delivery receipts. However, we have been told not to publish the content of the documents because they are still secret according to current laws. There are various investigations records, papers on political trials, and also information about people who obviously cooperate with the state security forces. Here in the mud the marking "strictly secret" looks a bit grotesque. The content of the material will, however, be used in further investigations.

I asked how they would be protected. Yesterday, soldiers were present, and it seems likely that the material will be selected from this messy pile and filed with their aid. A precise list will be made and the documents will be used as exhibits for further investigation. The documents are mainly about the affairs of state security bodies from Prague, but some are also from other places in our republic.

Civilians are not permitted to enter this military area, but thanks to the understanding of the unit command here, representatives of Civic Forum can have their say here, and they will be present at follow-up operations.

I have heard that this is not a unique case. A similar report has come in from the Ujezd military area.

Ministry Spokesman Interviewed on Phone Tapping

LD1512215189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] I welcome in our studio now Major Jiri Belohlavek, press spokesman of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Do you know exactly what is hidden behind the locked doors in the telephone exchanges?

[Belohlavek] I personally have not seen what is hidden in these rooms. Nevertheless, I can say on this issue that special purpose rooms have been built in telephone exchanges in accordance with the preparations for the defense and protection of our country in the sphere of communications in a period of extraordinary events and threat to the state. The equipment in these rooms enables phone calls to be checked.

[Announcer] Do you admit that phone tapping is illegal, unless permission is granted by a prosecutor in the course of investigation of crimes?

[Belohlavek] In this context I would like to say that penal norms, above all the penal code, does not cover the practice of tapping. Tape recordings have never been used in the course of investigation and have never been put forward as evidence in a trial.

[Announcer] Could you then tell me to what purpose the tapping was used and, who eventually gave the instruction for it?

[Belohlavek] First of all I would like to say that the checking of phone calls was carried out in accordance with the resolution adopted at the 17th Session of the State Defense Council on 13 December 1972 and Order No. 20 by the minister of interior which specifies this resolution of the State Defense Council. I am unable to answer the second question regarding who specifically approved it.

[Announcer] Can you at least deny that people who had not committed crimes were under surveilance? Or those who had nothing to do with damaging the defense capability of the state?

[Belohlavek] With regard to the regulations about which I spoke, I can categorically state that there was no abuse of this surveilance.

[Announcer] The equipment does not belong to the communications administration. Therefore, what does its owner—the Ministry of the Interior—intend to do with it?

[Belohlavek] I would like to return again to the previous question and say for what purpose that equipment for checking phone calls was used. It was used when there was suspicion of serious crimes. I could say that in recent times this equipment has been used for checking serious crimes such as, for example, the crime of terrorism linked to explosions in Ceske Budejovice, Pelhrimov, and Usti nad Labem about which our public was informed.

[Announcer] And the future of this equipment?

[Belohlavek] As for the future fate of this equipment, I would like to say that similar equipment is used by security forces of all states, regardless of the social and state system. In my view, the important thing is that such measures should be regulated by law. That is why a bill will be prepared which will precisely define the conditions for the use of this equipment, and this law will replace the present regulation. We can assume that some new organizational and control measures will be taken.

[Announcer] Let us hope so. Will you arrange for us to be allowed to take our camera behind those sealed doors and bring to an end all the unclear issues linked to tapping?

[Belohlavek] To answer this question I have to draw on what has already been said in your report: Because the equipment in question serves the defense of the state only authorized persons are allowed to enter these rooms, in accordance with law No. 102/1971 on the protection of state secrets.

[Announcer] Thank you for the interview.

PRAVDA 'Apology' for Past Wrongdoings

AU0612104689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Dec 89 p 2

["Apology" issued by the PRAVDA editorial office]

[Text] Under the administrative and bureaucratic pressure exerted by certain members of the leading staff of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and of Slovakia, as well as by some members of the former management's own editorial office, PRAVDA has published in past months and years several articles which distorted reality in a biased manner and which grossly slandered both individuals and groups, as for instance the authors of the "Bratislava Aloud" publication, and others who expressed views which differed from the official views on the solution of social problems. We consider it imperative to state that at that time, several members of our collective revolted against the attempts to misuse them for denigrating propaganda. True, there were also those among us who lent themselves to such practices. However, we have already parted ways with these people at an extraordinary members' meeting of the factory committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia.

The collective of the editorial office under the current acting management disassociates itself from the articles mentioned above and from the authors who frequently concealed their identity under an alias; it regards it as its duty to apologize to all those whose honor it had offended.

Minister Urges Acceptance of Dam Proposal

LD1512190389 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Ivan Vesely, Slovak minister of forestry, water economy and wood processing industry, issued a statement urging acceptance of a proposal by the Hungarian Republic to hold talks regarding a change in the agreement between the two countries on the construction and running of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroworks. These talks should lead to the adoption of a joint course of the two sides aimed at beginning the running of the Gabcikovo hydroworks sometime in 1991.

According to Minister Ivan Vesely's statement, we accept the stance of the Hungarian side that if we are going to be prepared to change the agreement and endorse the agreement on ecological guarantees, the Hungarian side will immediately continue works on damming up a river bed of the Danube river near Dunakiliti.

Starting today the preparatory works are at the same time halted on a modified solution to the Hrusov-Dunakiliti reservoir as an expression of the willingness of the Czechoslovak side to jointly complete the Gabcikovo hydroworks.

Demonstration Against Dam

LD1612120789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Excerpts] At Gabcikovo [given as Boes], representatives of Czechoslovak independent organizations demanded the halting of the construction of the dam, with a demonstration by 2,000 people. Peter Nyaradi reports:

[Nyaradi] [Passage omitted] Around 2,000 people have gathered outside the buildings of the construction directorate. At this moment speakers are taking turns making speeches, representing both the various independent Slovak organizations, and the Slovak Government. The whole action, which was organized by students, started with the speech of the representative from Independent Initiatives. [passage omitted]

After this, there were various speakers. For example, Sandor Varqa, the newly-elected Slovak deputy premier, who said that everything must be done so that public opinion comes to the surface and is also asserted. Deputy Premier Ondrus also spoke. He said that the Slovak Government would like to hold talks next week on the future of the Boes-Nagymaros plan. The Green parties and Green movements, as well as other independent movements in Slovakia will be included in the talks.

The Gabcikovo demonstration is still going on, and will probably not end until the afternoon.

Pavel Meets Slovak TV Head, Cic

LD1312225489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Before noon today, CSSR Television Director General Miroslav Pavel, met the program council of Bratislava Television's studio. He discussed the fact that CSSR Television should be an independent legal institution which expresses the present plurality of views in our society.

Miroslav Pavel afterward informed Slovak Socialist Republic premier Milan Cic of his ideas concerning the future of television, the results of his meeting at the television studio and about setting specific deadlines for resolving the questions outlined.

Our director general also held talks today with Frantisek Trnka, secretary of the preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party. They agreed on its representation in the political council for television and radio programs.

Daily Outlines New Programming Policy

AU1512221289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 89 p 1

["(DA)"-signed report: "A Place on the Screen"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—The events of the past three weeks have precipitated the need in Czechoslovak Television to rearrange the broadcasting procedure for political coverage, especially its contents.

The main principles for this are objective reporting of events in society and balance in broadcasting. So that television can implement these principles, the Czechoslovak Television Program Council has been established, a council which is a consultative body of television's director general. Its members are representatives of individual political parties and civic initiatives. Vasil Mohorita represents the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This council's mission is its members' participation in the creation and control of program policy and their involvement in the preparation of fundamental documents of a program and legal nature. It is also to assist in ensuring that broadcasts express the broadest possible spectrum of opinions and points of view.

Miroslav Pavel, director general of Czechoslovak Television, gave a briefing on these and other issues on Monday [11 December]. In his introduction, he said that television has opened up its screen for the widespread expression of opinions and stances. We have prepared two new types of current affairs programs: Opinions and Points of View, which is broadcast three times a week, and Studio Dialogue, which viewers can see twice a week.

Jiri Hrabovsky, who represented the Television News staff, said that the whole collective wants to make news coverage really independent, news coverage that would explain events in our country and in the world in a factual manner. From Monday 11 December, Television News, the main news bulletin, will be shown only on the first program. It will also be given a new signature tune. The news bulletin, 24 Hours in the World, will also be transferred from the second program to the first program. In essence, every 90 minutes, television will broadcast a news bulletin.

As Miroslav Pavel said later, television also wants to offer viewers sufficient opportunity for drama, light entertainment, music, and educational programs. Television is opening itself up to the world so that it corresponds to the completely altered situation. Viewers will have a far greater opportunity to make comparisons with programs shown on foreign television. In order to ensure that the very best specialists work in television, the leading posts, just like the newscasters' posts in Television News and other current affairs programs, will be open to competition.

New Rules for Travel Allowances Drafted

LD1612101489 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] The Federal Ministry of Finance is revising from 18 December the travel allowances paid hitherto to officials, top management, and heads of government delegations during their business trips abroad. The representatives of political parties and public organizations, and in particular of leading Czechoslovak Communist Party officials who were receiving these allowances in connection with the leading role of the party, were deleted from the list. According to the revised rules, only leading representatives of legislative bodies, members of government, and leading officials of central departments and institutions will be entitled to receive them. Leading foreign trade and industry representatives have not been included in the new list of those qualifying for allowances during business trips abroad either.

SED Executive Discusses Upcoming Congress

LD1512190789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1756 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] party executive, elected by the extraordinary party congress last weekend, met for the first time today since it constituted itself. As emerges from a press release conveyed to ADN, the members of the executive discussed the continuation of the extraordinary party congress this weekend. Thoughts on the party program, the new statute, the party name, and the course of the party congress were featured in the discussion.

SED Congress Reopens After 1-Week Break

LD1612084589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0822 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—After a 1-week interval, the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] congress continued in Berlin today.

A week earlier, during a 17-hour session, the 2,750 delegates elected Gregor Gysi as party chairman, a 100-member Party Executive, and an Arbitration Committee. It was also decided to give the SED a new name.

The deputy SED chairman, Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer, announced in a news conference that the second part of the extraordinary congress will begin with the historic roots of the SED's crisis. In this connection, further results of investigations into the misuse of office and corruption will be announced, as far as they are known. This is to be followed by a discussion on these issues.

The new framework for the party—the program and statute—is to be debated this afternoon. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published drafts on this over the past few days.

Tomorrow the party chairman, Gregor Gysi, will give a report, dealing, among other things, with the preparation of the People's Chamber elections, expected in May 1990. [passage omitted]

Berghofer Opens Congress

LD1612090189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0831 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—After a break of 1 week, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] extraordinary party congress has reopened in Berlin today. Shortly after 0900, Deputy Party Chairman Wolfgang Berghofer opened the 2-day meeting. Thoughts on the party program, the new statute, and the party's future name are high on the agenda. Berghofer welcomed meritorious party members as guests of honor, among them, Juergen Kuczinsky, Stephan Hermlin, Erwin Geschonneck, Ruth Werner, and Steffi Spiera. Rudolf Bahro is also taking part in the extraordinary party congress as a guest. Many people have already asked to speak. [passage omitted]

Advisory Council Proposed

LD1612090489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0836 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is, in the future, to have an advisory council consisting of experienced, senior party members. It was reported early today at the SED special congress in Berlin that this body is intended to back the chairman "with advice and actions."

The Presidium of the Party Executive has proposed about 20 well-known personalities for the council. They include Ruth Werner, Herbert Fechner, Stephan Hermlin, Markus Wolf, Walter Janka, Juergen Kuczynski, Moritz Mebel, Arno Mohr, Kurt Maetzig, and Friedel Trappen. [passage omitted]

Roots of Crisis Noted

LD1612093989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0900 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] This morning, the second half of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] extraordinary party congress began in Berlin. Proposals on a new program and statute, ideas on the new name of the party, and the issue of the party's future work are up for debate. At the moment, Michael Schumann is giving a report on the causes of the crisis in the GDR. He stated that the members of the old party leadership under Erich Honecker bear full personal responsibility for this. Power was concentrated in the hands of an arrogant autocrat. A central authority which lacked understanding for the most elementary requirements commanded the economy. Culture, science, and education, too, were strictly regimented. Those who thought differently were seen as criminals. In addition to this the old SED leadership transformed the media landscape into a dreary information desert. Schumann then touched on the false assessment of the revolutionary popular movement. He said that the old politbureaucrats wanted to suppress this movement as counterrevolutionary. In reality, they themselves were the counterrevolutionaries.

The leadership under Egon Krenz, formed after Honecker was relieved of his duties, did not understand the character of the renewal. By the lack of a concept and will on the part of the Krenz team for a radical break with the past, the SED got into a situation in which it had to fear for its existence. This led to a rebellion by the party's grass roots, which finally forced the extraordinary party congress.

The speaker pointed out that the chain of abuse of power went back a long way. The crimes of the Stalin era have not yet been solved and the German victims rehabilitated. Even after the reckoning with Stalinism at the 20th party congress of the CPSU, political persecution in the GDR continued.

Further on Agenda

LD1612100689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0938 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This morning the debate by the delegates began at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] extraordinary party congress. The report on the origins of the crisis and the SED's responsibility, as well as a reports available in written form by the former Central Committee, the Central Party Control Commission, and the Central Auditing Commission. is to be discussed.

Morning Debates at Congress

LD1612110389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0918 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The debate by the delegates began this morning at the Socialist Unity Party of German [SED] extraordinary party congress. [passage omitted]

The speakers in the debate so far have pleaded for the stabilization of the GDR and against a greater, German superpower. The right to work must remain assured, and no blows to the fate of individuals should be summoned up.

The written reports by the old leadership were repeatedly described as an expression of "incredible mendacity." It was demanded that they be published in the party press.

A majority of the delegates voted against a motion by Wolfgang Berghofer to let members of the former leadership present as guests speak in the debate.

CPSU Greets Congress

LD1612113789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0943 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The CPSU is open for cooperation with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. This is stressed in a greetings message from the CPSU Central Committee to the SED extraordinary congress currently taking place in Berlin. The CPSU was ready to shape its relations on the basis of friendship and comradeship, mutual respect for views, and the profession of common ideological and political values. In its efforts to unite the proponents of democratic socialism on German soil, the SED can be certain of the solidarity of the CPSU.

"Basically, what has happened is what had to happen," the message says with regard to the current developments in the GDR. "We Soviet Communists already have been forced to experience the fact that life cannot be pressed into dogmas. If one does not believe in the people and the creativity of the masses, trust in the party dwindles and its role as political vanguard is weakened. Reality has shown often enough that in socialism words and deeds, politics and morality must not diverge. The administrative command system, which stifles initiative from below and dries up the sources of popular wisdom, has caused severe damage to socialism. Untruth, double morality, and, particularly, corruption and unlawfulness have been and are poison to it. The socially just society derives its strength from overcoming the alienation of the working people from ownership, power, and culture, from the setting up and constant improvement of democratic conditions. The restructuring in the Soviet Union is intended to create conditions in which each individual can unfold his potential and become the master of his own fate," the telegram emphasizes.

"We understand how great is the political responsibility the party has taken on in the current situation. Your party, which is separating itself from everything that has been cast aside by developments, which is radically renewing its organization from top to bottom, and is giving the masses understandable programmatic aims, has good reason to be the vanguard of the republic. We sincerely wish you success in realizing the decisions taken by the congress which serve the well-being of the GDR, the ideals of a just society, the interests of friendship between our countries and peoples, and of a lasting peace and stability in Europe," the message continues.

Commission Elected

LD1612111189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1053 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Commissions for drafting a new program and a new statute for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] were elected at the extraordinary party congress today. Their establishment is based on a decision reached on the first day of discussions of the special congress at the end of last week. A joint proposal by delegates from all bezirke [areas] for these commissions was submitted in written form.

Party executive member Wolfgang Berghofer outlined the tasks of the two bodies, which are to be effective until the endorsement of the documents at the ordinary party congress. They must have the right to include in their work further party members with the necessary competence and experience, among them those who are not, and have not been delegates. He proposed that the chairman of the program commission should be the party chairman.

The composition of the commissions was the subject of questions and motions. A majority of the delegates endorsed the bodies in the proposed and amended composition.

Honecker Takes Responsibility

LD1612122389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1128 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A report by the party's former Central Control Commission [ZPKK] has been made available to the delegates of the extraordinary SED congress which reproduces, on 2 pages, statements by former General Secretary Erich Honecker. Following a discussion of the ZPKK on 16 November 1989, Erich Honecker—at that time still a member of the SED and its Central Committee—addressed ZPKK Chairman Werner Eberlein. In the talk, which had "more the character of a monologue" because Honecker, with reference to concentration difficulties, read out a longish text, the former general secretary noted: "I assume full responsibility for the situation that has arisen, which is all the more serious as I had held the functions of general secretary and chairman of the Council of State, and the National Defense Council for a long time."

Honecker stated that he did not share the critical assessment of the serious situation in the party and the country. He saw the cause of his wrong decisions in the fact that he had not perceived the reality of life in the country directly in the last period. "I deluded myself about things and allowed myself to be deluded during visits in the country." Honecker rejected the accusation raised concerning the abuse of power and office: "At no time of my party or state activity can my actions, which always were ruled by the well- being of our people, be connected with these accusations.

At the conclusion of this talk, Honecker, who was expelled from the party on 3 December at the extraordinary Central Committee session, stated, according to the report, that he was "for a renewal of society, as demanded in the action program, but he had increasing doubts whether this process was going in the right direction."

Ex-Politburo's Report

LD1612121489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1110 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a report by members of the Politburo and secretaries of the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, the cause of the crisis in the SED and society is described as a false concept of socialism and of the Marxist-Leninist party and its role in society. The report is part of the material available to delegates as a basis for debate at the extraordinary SED congress, which continued its deliberations in Berlin today.

According to this document, it is stated emphatically that there is no collective guilt on the part of party members, but that linking guilt only with the names of Honecker and Mittag would not do justice to the truth. The fact was that members of the Politburo and of the Central Committee as a whole violated the party statute valid at that time. No one had the courage to take the consequences of his internal opposition to Honecker's and Mittag's increasing claim to absolute leadership by leaving the party leadership.

"Voluntarism in the party leadership's decisions" arose from the SED's understanding of itself as the executor of social laws. "That determined their leadership style, their claim to infallibility, and, therefore, their claim to organize and lead the political system, the economy, and culture alone."

Communication between the party leadership and the party organization proceeded in only one direction—from the top to the bottom, the report goes on to say. The party organization was excluded from the central formation of will. Its function was reduced to mobilizing the masses for a line laid down from above.

Stalinism was not overcome in the SED following the 20th CPSU Congress. "With reference to the severity of the class struggle at the height of the Cold War, the issue of the actual causes of Stalinist policy, as in the other socialist countries, was not addressed," the report added. It was a bad mistake that comrades who had urged this course were silenced, expelled, or even sentenced to prison terms.

The negative trends intensified, particularly following the 11th SED Congress, and the contradiction between the leadership and members of the party became exacerbated. A deep-going change of opinion, which was unfavorable to the party, took place among the workers. The GDR political system developed in contradiction to the long-overdue objective necessities, to the interests, needs, and wishes of the people. This political deformation had an important economic background, the report stated: "Acceptance of a policy of restructuring would have resulted in exposing a basically failed economic policy."

The old Politburo also bore responsibility for the fact that the press, radio, and television in the country increasingly were failing to meet the Leninist dictate of being a critical advocate of the workers, and precisely for that reason, the organizer of the socialist transformation, as well.

Mittag's Failings Noted

LD1612140389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1237 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Since the beginning of the 1970's, the GDR has been living beyond its means economically. More national income was used than created through its performance. This emeges from a report of the former Central Party Control Commission [ZPKK] before the delegates to the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] congress.

The section devoted to the false actions of Guenter Mittag, former Politburo member and Control Committee secretary responsible for economic policy, shows that the demands of the eighth party congress led to a considerable decline in productive accumulations and to a rapid rise in expenditure in the nonproductive area. Warnings issued early on against such "uncovered checks," which caused considerable weaknesses in structural policy and an increase in debt, were rejected on a massive scale. Mittag describned the objections as capitulation, which was holding the party back from a successful path.

Contrary to the reservations expressed by specialist economic experts, Mittag made authoritian decisions on projects such as the synthetic fiber program, robot technology, CAD/CAM [expansion unknown] solutions, microelectronics, and the private car program, as well as the foundry and housing construction programe.

It says further in the report that Mittag's negative character qualities in connection with the ever-increasing concentraton of power in his hands led to serious political and economic damage to the party, society, and economy of the GDR.

With the formation of an economic commission and a payments balance group in the Politburo, Guenter Mittag created instruments to decouple the government, above all, from strategic decisions. The majority of government representatives in the Politburo did not defend the government against this, according to the report, and came to terms with it. Guenter Mittag frequently even received verbal support, which intensified the situation further. He had a considerable share in the fact that financial relations with capitalist banks and enterprises were not known to the Politburo, the Central Committee departments for economic policy, or the GDR government, and therefore were not monitorable.

Grave mistakes by Mittag in the area of structural policy—the destruction of supply chains, and the ignoring of the principle to gear planning to need—proved disastrous, it says in the ZPKK reports.

Afternoon Session Opens

LD1612145889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1400 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN) After a break for lunch, the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] continued its deliberations this afternoon. First of all, Dieter Klein gave a report on the forming anew of a modern socialist party and its contribution to a new socialist society.

Excerpts of Report

LD1612145189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1123 GMT 16 Dec 89

["(Documentation) 'Textual Excerpts From the Report "On the Crisis in Society and its Origins, on the Responsibility of the SED" '"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On its first day, our party congress emphatically stated: We are breaking irrevocably with Stalinism as a system. All of us here in the hall—some earlier, other later—became conscious that the members of a leadership that has been swept away, in the meantime, bear responsibility for the crisis in our country and party.

Erich Honecker and his Politburo were able to cause such damage mainly because an interweaving of structures, ubiquitous apparatuses, and an ideology of justification gave blessing to such abuses of power and made them possible.

In the meantime, the symptoms of abuse of power have been laid open:

—Conentration of power in the hands of an arrogant autocrat;

—Management of the economy by a central command that lacked any understanding for the elementary needs of the productive and social areas of society and for the population's quality of life;

—The regimentation and bureaucratic centralization of culture, science, and education, which drove critical spirits out of the country;

—The political tutelage of our republic's citizens and the criminalization of those who think differently;

—The transformation of the media landscape into a dreary information desert and a repulsive form of court reporting;

—The exclusion of the party grass roots from all the internal party processes of forming will and making decisions.

In the background of this abuse of power, the morass of corruption and personal enrichment spread. Insufferable aspirations to leadership by a leadership clique and its many emulators, even at lower levels, brought our party into disrepute. A deep chasm opened up between the leadership and the people, between the party leadership and the party grass roots. A comprehensive popular movement grew from individuals and groups pushing for change. They demanded their rights on the street when the country threatened to go under because of a mass exodus. The movement for the renewal of socialism has a revolutionary character. The politbureaucrats disparaged the people's breaking out as a counterrevolution and wanted to suppress it by force. In reality, they were the counterrevolutionaries in this situation. Many people—artists, workers, authors and academics, including members and functionaries of our party—raised their voices in warning.

Our party participated in the popular movement with many of its members, but was unable to initiate restructuring as an organization.... For this reason, the party got into a situation between those October days and our extraordinary party congress in which it had to fight for its life. The party leadership following Erich Honecker's departure bears responsibility for this. We had to retreat further and further because the leadership around Egon Krenz had no concept and was not prepared to make a radical break with the past. That could not be expected, considering the people of which it was composed. Here I merely recall the following facts:

... Dark areas in the elections and responsibility for violence against demonstrators remained unclarified. Instead of drying out the swamp of enrichment and privilege, stalling tactics that discredited the party were pursued. Even when all the gates were opened, party members continued to be shut off from taking possession of their own party. Nothing else could be meant by the attempt to prevent an extraordinary party congress. Anyone who wanted to thoroughly clean out the party and renew it from the bottom was depicted as someone wanting to divide the party.

This was the point at which the party grass roots rebelled and began the renewal of the party from below. Many party organizations elected or renewed their executives. Groups of comrades prepared proposals for new programs and statutes. Comrades went onto the streets and called out: We are the party! On this movement was based the Working Committee formed on 3 December, which then took on the preparations for the extraordinary congress and was serious about investigating offenses and violations of the law, about clearing up of cases of corruption and abuse of power by SED functionaries ...

What weighs particularly heavy on us is the fact that the crimes of the Stalin period have not yet been clarified, and many victims of Stalinism have not yet been rehabilitated. Meanwhile, many of those affected have broken their silence and shown confidence in turning to our party. It is not yet possible to ascertain exactly how many people were subject to direct repression, but we must reckon with a large number.

Affected were German Communists, other antifascists, and their families who in the 1930's, and in some cases, once again after 1945, were sentenced and or banished in the Soviet Union. Some of them returned home in 1956. Affected were Social Democrats, who were arrested by Soviet security organs, and later by organs of our state security. Communist Party of Germany [KPD] functionaries from the Western zones on stays in the GDR also fell into the hands of Soviet security organs and the German departments cooperating with them. Members and functionaries of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and also other parties and organizations, were disciplined. Some were arrested and sentenced, particularly in the follow-up to trials held in other countries and to eliminate oppositional forces. There are also those citizens and comrades who were arrested, and often sentenced, as well, for political reasons, even after the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956, the full responsibility for which lies with the organs of the SED and the state..

If we want to overcome Stalinism in a lasting way, then we must not only name the facts, we must, above all, question the causes which have led not only to the continued existence of Stalinist rules, but, in recent times, to some of its particularly repulsive products, as well. These causes have historic roots, which go back into history in different ways and to differing extents. There are the specific structures, methods, and allure of the Honecker era.

There are the Stalinist deformities linked overall with our socialist development, and the development of a corresponding system of rule. There is the misuse of the communist movement by Stalin after Lenin's death and a Stalinist line that reaches back to the 1920's. Some things probably go back to the Prussian-German idea of the supremacy of the state and corresponding behavior...

But the citizens of our country and the members of our party, who at all times worked for socialism on German soil in good faith and with their hearts and hands, need the certainty that they also left a positive mark in history.

They have done so:

—In that they overcome fascism and militarism after liberation from the Nazi regime, at any rate in terms of manifestations dominating society;

—In that they organized production based mainly on public ownership in industry and agriculture, which at times was able to guarantee a notable economic growth;

In that they brought about prosperity among the people under adverse consitions which, while not keeping pace with the most developed industrialized countries, is a front-runner on an international scale;

—In that they tore down educational barriers, made possible a considerable increase in the level of education and professional qualifications, and created an intellectual climate in which the idea of social justice is part of the basic convictions of many people;

—In that they created a social network and legislation that do not allow anyone to fall into unemployment, homelessness, and social exclusion;

—In that they contributed to the GDR's international standing with achievements in many areas;

—In that they helped the GDR acquire the reputation of a country of peace, in which international solidarity and antifascism have a home.

This and much else must not be lost in the criticism of Stalinism...

Under Stalinist conditions, fundamental ideas and the ethical content of Marxist philosophy and science were distorted. Thus it was not recognized that Marxism is, above all, theoretical humanism. However, recognition that Marxism and the revolutionary workers' movement are primarily representatives and champions of universal human values and ideals is decisive for a correct approach to all questions of socialist policy. From this position comes recognition of the necessity and possibility of developing this policy as a way of life for the broadest conceivable alliance of all forces of the people, of not excluding anyone, and of consistently striving for democratic consensus and compromises for the realization of the interests and demands of the people. This alliance, which always includes a constructive confrontation of issues, often was not sought honestly and openly, and was destroyed through arrogance and monopolization.

The restructuring of society also demands that we make a radical break with the Stalinist interpretation of the power question. The relationship to political power was essentially reduced to a myth about the possibilities of state instruments of force, which were devoid of all democratic control. The illusion was prevalent that society could not be controlled merely with the aid of centralized apparatuses of rule, but that its development also could he corrected at all times. In doing so, the main political task—the struggle to establish a democratic consensus with all forces of the people on the basic questions of social development, and social agreement on a joint approach to the individual areas of politics—was suppressed. Politics was understood primarily as an instrument of the administrative use of power.

The Stalinism in the CPSU and in Soviet society, which gained the upper hand in the first 15 years of Soviet power, did not remain without consequences for the communist movement in Germany....

Many shared concerns, developed in the antifascist struggle, were considerably impaired by means of the influence of Stalinist policies. That did not alter the fact that German communists could lay justified claim to decisive co-determination of the further development of the nation, together with the Social Democrats, after the liberation.

With a view to the future, we are obliged to work out a thorough analysis of the causes that led to Stalinist thought and action in our country following the liberation from fascism, and how these brought about a deformation of social conditions....

Steps to uncover and overcome certain consequences of Stalinism were introduced with the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956. Thousands were released from prison, comrades also were released, some were rehabilitated, but much remains open and needs working through.

At almost the same time, however, there were new reprisals in connection with the events in Hungary in 1956. Walter Janka was one of the victims of this time.

Attempts at correction for a renewal of socialism in 1953 and 1956, which still require more exact evaluation—and that also applies to the events of 17 June 1953—soon came to a halt or were brought to a halt. Any research into these causes was forbidden with the argument "do not permit a discussion of errors, or eliminate errors through progress." That favored the continued existence of a top leadership that was not prepared to carry out any fundamental renewals. This allows us to raise the question anew concerning the assessment of the political clashes with the so-called Herrnstadt-Zeisser and Schirdewan-Wollweber groups and the correctness of the party punishments decreed at that time. Everything that can be cleared up in this matter must be cleared up.

In the 1950's a process advanced which led to the development of the SED top leadership having the monopoly of decision-making in society, although the first Constitution of the GDR, which was valid at that time, did not provide for this. This reached its peak in a decision made in 1960 which declared decisions of the party leadership as binding for state work. It was the overcentralization in the political system which led to the overcentralization in the economic life of society, and not the other way around....

Our present is burdened more heavily and directly by the wrong developments and failings of the subsequent period. At the beginning of the 1960's, the SED leadership said that socialism was now developing on its own foundations in secure borders. Beginnings full of hope for a renewal grew out of this, but many possibilities were squandered.

The inconsistency of the 20th CPSU Congress and its evaluation in the GDR had long-term effects.... This had a more disastrous effect the more socialism was challenged by the scientific-technical revolution, global problems, the new civil and human rights movements, and finally the CSCE process.

In the middle of the 1960's there was a productive beginning for a new economic system, which was supposed to lead away from the command economy and toward an effective economy, regulated primarily by economic instruments. But a new economic system could not take root unless an opening in political and intellectual-cultural life also took place. This was obstructed, however, mainly by the self-understanding of the party, which continued in the Stalinist tradition....

The impetus of the Prague Spring, which could have been made productive with the community of socialist countries, was not understood. Critics such as Robert Havemann and others were supposed to be silenced.

On the threshold of the 1970's, the Eighth Party Congress, which later was overestimated beyond measure and was used for the cult around Erich Honecker, awakened hopes with its political style, which was different in many respects, and with the closer linking of economic and social policy. These were fulfilled by the then- general secretary only selectively, and in the short term on internal policy, but for a long period of time in foreign and peace policy. As soon as Honecker felt that he was firmly in the saddle between the top people of world politics, his need for recognition grew in inverse proportion to his actual political stature.

The general secretary and his politburo, who did not feel accountable to the Central Committee and who did not exercise collectivity, did not understand what positions the GDR had to take up on issues of human rights, opportunities to travel, and changes to the border regulations. The outward dialogue and inward refusal had to deepen the chasm between the party and the people, had to lead toward extreme contradictions. We must reappraise our country's policies in the 1970's, with all their contradictions. A critical analysis of the achievements and mistakes of our party at this time is of great significance for the renewal of our society. For example, in the area of the economy, the developments during this time prove what socialist concentration can do, and, at the same time, what happens when economic developments are wrongly programmed by blocking processes of democratization and ignoring science.

.... The slogan "Socialism in the colors of the GDR" was explained by the rejection of perestroyka and glasnost. Today we have to describe this time as "Stalinism in the colors of the GDR." From what has been portrayed here, the committee puts forward the proposal to the party congress for compensation to the victims of Stalinism:

1. The rehabilitation of all those who become victims of Stalinist persecution, whether in the USSR or in our country. To this end, contacts should be taken up with the relevant Soviet bodies.

2. The party executive will have the task of investigating everything that can be learned about the fate of individuals, but also about responsibility and guilt.

3. We offer our cooperation in an independent investigative committee composed of people affected, lawyers, historians, and other persons. Our party will make the results of its inquiries available to this committee.

4. We support preserving forever the memory of the victims of Stalinist crimes in our society. The dignified memorial proposed by others, the evidence of memory, and the maintenance of existing museums and memorials, as well as our fiction and nonfiction all should serve this end.

The consequences for the future, meaning the removal of the structures that make such deformations possible, must be expressed in the new program, in the new statute, and in a new and critical approach to our own history, which is not apologist and does not gloss things over or leave anything out....

Auditing Commission Report

LD1612145689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1149 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Central Auditing Commission [ZRK] elected by the first party congress (April 1989) stands by its responsibility, its says in a report by the ZRK currently available to the delegates to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] extraordinary congress currently taking place in Berlin. In accordance with Article 71 of the party statute, it was responsible for carrying out regular examinations of the organization and technical implementation of procedures, of work with suggestions, tips, and criticisms, as well as the management of finances. However, this auditing activity was carried out as a component of a system of management and internal party organization which did serious damage to both to itself and to society. For this reason, the ZRK was unable to fulfill the expectations placed in it to the full extent, but neither sanctioned nor covered the immoral and criminal abuse of party money.

Such establishments as the estate in Wandlitz or the extensive houses of former members of the party leadership and their children were not financed with party money, and for this reason could not be subject to the ZRK's work, it says in the report. The party apparatus had become too extensive and costly, and formal and bureaucratic features in party work could be ascertained under conditions of the monopoly of power. From the middle of 1986 until the middle of 1989, 148,364 letters were received from comrades and citizens, of these 53,384 were to the former general secretary. There was a particular increase in letters from collectives. However, in dialogue with citizens they were able to give less and less convincing answers to complaints because of the increasing political and material problems, as well as disproportions in the national economy.

Delegates Confirm Crisis Report

LD1612150889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1255 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During this morning's discussion of the report on the origins of the crisis in society and the responsibility of the Socialist Unity of Germany [SED] and of the written reports by the former Central Committee, the Central Party Control Commission, and the Central Auditing Commission, the overwhelming majority of the 2,524 delegates to the extraordinary SED congress decided to forbid members of the former party leadership from speaking at the plenary session. Whoever admitted responsibility should face the area delegations this evening.

Wolfgang Berghofer, session leader and deputy party chairman, assessed this as a decision for a "party congress of renewal." This was preceded, at times, by controversial and heated motions on the agenda.

Speakers in the discussion described the assessment made by the former Central Committee as "superficial" or as a "pamphlet full of half-truths." It attempted to find explanations without identifying the essentials. In response to questioning, Berghofer announced that the originally submitted Central Committee report bore the signatures of Herger, Jarowinsky, Kranz, Lorenz, Rauchfuss, Schabowski, Semmelmann, and Siber. Demands for a final break with Stalinism were vociferous. This must begin in one's thinking and could not be mastered only with the scrapping of the "apparatus." "Anti-Soviet concepts" of the old Politburo were criticized in this respect. The need for a speedy rehabilitation of victims of Stalinism was stressed repeated.

Other delegates reported about discrimination against SED members from apparatuses and administrations now looking for new work. The Modrow government was asked to prevent such marginalization.

In the discussion, which was conducted mainly with a view to the future, delegates also spoke in favor of stability and security in the GDR and Europe, and against a national hysteria for a "greater Germany." Further themes of the 15 speakers were renewals in he army and in schools and colleges, a responsible revision of GDR history, and vigilance against fascism, nationalism, and xenophobia.

Before the lunch break, the delegates confirmed the report "On the Origins of the Crisis in Society and the Responsibility of the SED." Note was taken of the written reports that had been submitted, but in the words of Wolfgang Berghofer, they did not meet the expectations of the party congress.

Former Officials' Report

LD1612155589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1353 GMT 16 Dec 89

["Excerpts from the Central Committee report 'On the Causes of the Crisis in the SED and Society'"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This report was prepared by several comrades who held functions as members of the Politburo or secretaries of the Central Committee until the resignation of the Central Committee on 3 December 1989.

Concerning this report, it must be taken into account that the Central Committee elected at the 11th Party Congress was not united politically at the time of its resignation...

Several former members of the Politburo or of the Central Committee are in custody.

For these reasons, it was not possible to render an account of the situation that has arisen in the name of the old Central Committee....

I.

The entire party is affected today by the effects of the crisis. All comrades are being held responsible for this by the media. It must be noted with all the more emphasis that there is no collective guilt of party members. It is an indisputable fact that over years and decades the majority of comrades and working people has built up, with their honest, self-sacrificing, and clever work, a new society that displays achievements worthy of respect despite its many shortcomings...

From today's point of view, we must not that the 11th congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in 1989 squandered the possibility of a break from a mistaken course toward a new determination of a policy that really was oriented toward the interests of the people and the securing of the GDR's existence. The path toward this was named internationally by the 27th CPSU Congress.

It was stressed at the 10th plenum that the beginnings for the 11th SED congress did not rest on a real assessment of the situation. It is clear from insights, which present analyses give us, that the starting point for the formulation of economic tasks was not reality, but wishful thinking. Developmental processes in accordance with the laws of socialism, which had manifested themselves in the Soviet Union, were only assimilated superficially and not in their general validity... While externally the fraternal bond with the Soviet Union was incanted in official speeches and documents, suspicions were allowed to proliferate under the surface that it was a case of "revisionism" and "abandoning of principles."

A series of new-type processes in the development of productive forces and of world economic and political trends were not assimilated comprehensively enough in their full significance for fundamental future-determining decisions.

Instead of discussing solutions to problems at the 11th Party Congress, general slogans were circulated.... Instead of addressing problems immediately and directly, the hope was nurtured of gaining control of them again one day when the constellations were more favorable. Instead of drawing our comrades and all citizens into our confidence gaining them for a committed cooperation in solutions, the attempt was made to suggest to them an image of the GDR which corresponded less and less to the daily experiences of the people....

The available forms of democracy lagged behind citizens' broadening interest in dialogue. The political maturity of the citizens and their readiness to commit themselves to the shaping of society with their unmistakeable and self-confident individuality were underestimated and, in part, rejected as the expression of ideological diversion....

II.

In our view, these phenomena are rooted in a false concept of socialism, which arose historically, a false concept of the Marxist-Leninist party and its role in society. It was a Stalinist deformation of socialism. In political terms, it is marked primarily by the uncontrolled, autocratic rule of the leading party, by the dissociation of the party from its true goal of serving the people. The leading role of the party became a claim to power, to dictatorship over society, exercised by its leading functionaries.

The SED understood itself to be the party that carried out social laws. This went hand in hand with the view that it had a greater competence of knowledge and decision-making than all others. From this arose arbitrariness in the decisions of the party leadership; this determined their leadership style, their claim to infallibility and, in the last analysis, to lead and organize the political system, the economy and culture alone. Thus came about the meshing of party and state apparatus and their parallel structure.

A hierarchically organized party leadership became the sole decision-making central body. It had the monopoly on information and organization. Communication between the party leadership and party organizations took place unilaterally, from above to below, became a one-way street. Feedback was not wanted. Reports from below to above were doctored; scientific opinion research was found to be unnecessary and was abolished. The grass-roots organizations were excluded from the central process of formulating objectives. Their function was reduced to mobilizing the masses for a course determined from above. To an increasing degree, internal party democracy was restricted and undermined by an arrogant Politburo that removed itself from Central Committee control.

The very important principle of the unity and purity of the party was abused to demand loyalty and submission toward one person or a small group. Opportunities for correction, such as limiting periods of office and setting an age limit, were lacking, as was public control....

It is a tragic fact of our party history that even comrades who had proved themselves as antifascist resistance fighters, in that they put the cause of socialism even before their own lives, did not find the strength to resist corruption and even to oppose it.

In the last few years, the contradictions in the party between the grass roots and the leadership became more and more obvious....

This evaluation of the contradictory development in our society directs our attention to the causes of the present situation, which have been in effect for decades. In the Soviet Union under Stalin, an autocratic, centralist, and bureaucratic system of political, economic, and social administration arose. Until well into the postwar era, this was not recognized as a deviation from the ideals of Red October. The Soviet Union was the first state to undertake the creation of a socialist society. Thus, no other way than the Soviet one was known....

The heritage of the SED, which arose from the union of the Communist Party of Germany [KDP] and the Social Democratic Party and which goes back to Marx and Engels, was narrowed and falsified. The policy of our party in the years of the antifascist democratic upheaval, and even more markedly after the formation of the GDR, was under pressure from the intensifying cold war, the policy of division in the FRG—the government of which brusquely rejected all offers from the GDR for negotiations, even on the formation of a confederation—and it was under the pressure of threats and actions to liquidate our republic. The overcoming of the difficult legacy left behind by Hitler fascism and World War II demanded a taut central leadership, but also promoted the establishment of the administrative command system in the GDR.

Nevertheless, for a long period, the driving forces and creative potential of socialism had the upper hand over the negative aspects. The inhabiting effects of the command system, which restricted democratic initiative and the development of a socialist consciousness in the masses of the people, appeared only in the course of the construction of socialism, so that for a long time it was not noticed or not recognized as an obstacle. Proposals aimed at overcoming this system were neither examined nor discussed, but were rigorously rejected as counterrevolutionary.

It is true that following the 20th CPSU Congress there was a stirring discussion in our party, too, and there was disillusion concerning Stalin and his methods, but there was no mastering of this dark chapter in the history of the international workers' movement. The deeper causes and far-reaching factors of the cult of personality were not researched sufficiently and thoroughly. The severity of the class struggle at the climax of the cold war was cited and the question of the real causes of Stalinist policy in the GDR, as well as in other socialist countries, was not asked. Comrades who pressed for this and began a discussion were silenced, expelled, or even sentenced to imprisonment. This was a serious error.

The political system of the GDR became more and more ossified. Step by step the people and the people's representative bodies were robbed of their sovereignty... Elections permitted the selection and examination of candidates, but the election itself became a meaningless folding of ballot papers. That was how the unrealistic voting results around 99 percent came about.

Every "discussion of mistakes" was disapproved in our party. It was always denounced as capitulation and giving way. The result of this was that over the decades, at all levels of the party, the motto became to solve "problems while marching onwards..."

The Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution was interpreted, applied, and distorted in a one-sided way. Socialist revolution—although some historians and philosophers contradicted this—was understood only as the conquest of political power by the working class and the establishment of socialist property. The humanist goal of the liberation of man and of the democratization of society was neglected.

The negative trends intensified, particularly following the 11th congress. The contradiction between the party's leadership and membership sharpened... Critics were defamed, punished, and often even expelled as "whiners and moaners." Among working people there took place a deep-rooted change of opinion to the disadvantage of the party. The political system began to run counter to the objective requirements that had long since appeared, to the interests, needs, and demands of the people...

The political distortion also had a fundamental economic background. Acceptance of a policy of restructuring would necessarily have had as a consequence the disclosure of the largely failed economic policy. Even prior to the 11th congress, the majority of the working people were aware of gross disproportions in the national economy...

The line formulated at the eighth congress was directed at stimulating higher productivity through extensive social expenditure for the working people. These concepts, determined by simplified notions of interactions in economic policy, could not lead to success. As the sociopolitical measures could not be financed through our own economic performance, there came to be increasing signs of subjectivism in investment policy. The sociopolitical program was accompanied by various economic programs...

This development began to worsen rapidly in 1976, when Guenter Mittag returned to the party apparatus as secretary for economic policy. In order to make himself indispensable to the general secretary, he did everything possible to subordinate the entire economy to the prestige and wishes of Erich Honecker. Unparalleled power accrued to him in this. Increasingly, the collectivism of the Politburo in essential economic matters was diminished. Instead of decisions by the Politburo, there were, in many cases, letters from Guenter Mittag to Erich Honecker. If they were marked "agreed," they would be put into action as instructions....

The fact that virtually a second foreign trade was introduced which was subordinate to Guenter Mittag, which was subject to no control, and which existed alongside the balance sheets of the national economy had a negative effect.... The outcome was that the disporportions in the national economy were exacerbated in the 1980's. Erich Honecker and Guenter Mittag undoubtedly bear the main blame and responsibility for this situation. It was particularly Erich Honecker's blind confidence in Guenter Mittag and his superficial appraoch to economic policy which grew out of ignorance of economic necessities, which brought about this situation. Guenter Mittag's workstyle included absolute intolerance of other views. Comrades were demoted on flimsy excuses, transferred, or publicly humiliated. Many comrades working responsibly in the party apparatus and in the government were put under pressure, brought into moral conflict, or removed from their posts. It is also characteristic of this economic arbitrariness that constructive, critical scientists were excluded and were deprived of statistical data on the excuse of protecting secrecy.

The old Politburo also bears responsibility for the fact that the GDR's press, radio, and television increasingly failed to meet the Leninist requirement of being a critical advocate for the workers and precisely, thereby, also organizer of the socialist transformation.... To the extent to which the political and economic authority and decision-making power gradually were concentrated on a few persons in the leadership, these also exercised an information diktat.

Anything that did not fully accord with their prescribed course was made taboo for the media. Any activities by democratic forces which levelled criticism against the negative effects of administrative socialism in the GDR, for example, were directly subjected to a publication ban. On the other hand, a practice of veiled threats and reprimands meant that journalists were forced exercise self-censorship.

To the credit of the journalists, it must be said that it was not they who were responsible for this development. Many of them repeatedly tried to push through to honesty and a sense of reality, but when they wanted to discuss serious social problems they came up against the prohibitions of the Agitation Department....

All constructive publication of the restructuring processes in the Soviet Union, as well as the publication of relevant material from Soviet newspapers, was prevented. For example, SPUTNIK was deleted from the directory of publications and, thus, was banned in practice.

The intended deception of people turned against its instigators. The contrast between the "ideal world," the idyllic picture of harmony between people and leadership in the newspaper columns and in radio and television broadcasts, on the one hand, and the experiences of working people, who had to deal with unfulfilled plans and calamities with suppliers in the productive sector; as well as with increasing problems in their everyday life, on the other, became more and more crass. This contradiction aroused scepticism and rejection at first, then increasing annoyance, and finally great outrage. Thus, the ignorance of the old leadership about what the situation required became apparent as it was mirrored in the media. This stimulated the democratic popular movement and finally put an end to the unbearable contradiction between pretense and reality.

Joachim Herrmann, who after Erich Honecker bears the brunt of responsibility for the deformation of the media, was a compliant executor of the general secretary's instructions. Every day during a discussion with Erich Honecker, Herrmann took down Honecker's ideas on the shape of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and "Aktuelle Kamera" [evening television newscast].

The Government Press Office was the extended arm of the Agitation Department. The newspapers of the other political parties were spoon-fed in a manner similar to the party papers.

III

....Citizens who had lost faith in the ability of social circumstances to be changed and who saw no prospects for themselves in the GDR left the country.... Much human suffering was linked to their departure, but NEUES DEUTSCHLAND did not "shed a tear" for them in a commentary edited by Erich Honecker, himself.

The existence of the contradictions that had arisen finally was pushed into the consciousness of the national and the international public by the embassy occupations in Budapest and Prague, as well as later in Warsaw, and the resulting mass exodus....

However, the leadership still did not draw the necessary conclusions from the political crisis in the country. The situation that had arisen was put down, in the first instance, to external causes, meaning that NATO plans and the Western media were soley to blame....

It must be generally assesed that the entire party leadership—including those who later brought about the change in the leadership—were not prepared for the conflict breaking out into the open and still less for the new social issues. However much individual members and candidate members of the Politburo, as well as members of the Central Committee, may claim to have developed certain alternative ideas in individual areas and brought them into the debate, it also must be admitted openly that no one was in a position to make a clean break with the old way of thinking.

With any attempt to criticize the leadership of the then-general secretary being subject to the suspicion of attacking the party's entire policy and wanting to undermine Erich Honecker's authority, no one had the courage to draw personal conclusions from this internal oppositon to the increasing and absolute claim to rule by Erich Honecker and Guenter Mittag and to leave the party leadership.

The initial successes and results for the population, following from the policies of the Eighth Party Congress, led to a dominance of Comrades Honecker, Mittag, and Joachim Herrmann, who was responsible for the media. To link the question of guilt with these names alone, however, would not do justice to the truth. It is a fact that the members of the Politburo and of the Central Committee in their totality violated the party statutes valid at that time.

The Politburo had not been a collective leadership body for a long time because of the dominance of some individual comrades and the inconsistency of others. Criticism was almost excluded through discussion of documents beforehand with the general secretary, and self-criticism took place only in order to confirm the infallible authority of the general secretary...

Erich Honecker—who was held in high regard far beyond the GDR borders because of his active resistance to and terms of imprisonment under fascism, and who had gained great merits for himself by breaking through the diplomatic blockade of the GDR and in the European process of detente—had become an influential international authority in the period of political speechlessness in the Soviet Union under General Secretary Chernenko, and important impulses for international politics emanated from him. With the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as general secretary of the CPSU, the initiative in socialist foreign policy transferred to the Soviet Union once again. Clearly arising from this were personal conflicts within Erich Honecker, which are difficult to trace and from which spontaneous wrong decisions developed which caused damage to our party and country.

For years, a false understanding of party discipline, which was manipulated as the supreme principle of political leadership responsibility, placed so-called unity and integration above any possible personal contradiction, instead of promoting sharp political argument and being ready to form a constructive group against the failed policy....

The conflict between the party leadership and the party grass roots, between the state leadership and the citizens continued to intensify around the 40th anniversary of the GDR....

The obdurate behavior of the general secretary and the dangers for the country and its citizens linked with it caused Egon Krenz, together with Siegfried Lorenz, Guenter Schabowski, Wolfgang Herger, and a number of Central Committee members, to grab the initiative and force the Politburo statement of 11 October 1989. Although this statement had the characteristics of a compromise and was still an incomplete reaction to the political situation, it set the first signs for a turning away from the line of the general secretary. It was only pushed through in the Politburo following 12 days of sharp arguments against an initial majority. A further core point of the clash in the Politburo was the conclusion that political conflicts in the country should be solved exclusively by political means.

As General Secretary Honecker still was not prepared to draw the correct conclusions from this debate and as the latent danger still existed that life-endangering decisions would be made as a result of a wrong assessment of the situation, a further session of the Politburo finally proposed that Erich Honecker, Joachim Herrmann, and Guenter Mittag be dismissed, and that Egon Krenz be elected as party general secretary. With the election of Egon Krenz as general secretary at the ninth session of the SED Central Committee, a precondition was given for preventing bloody clashes reminiscent of a civil war.

...Because the newly formed Politburo lacked a philosophical strategy, the leadership of the party was not able, amid the rapidly changing circumstances, to give the necessary impetus to renewal....

From today's point of view, it was a mistake that the ninth Central Committee session postponed discussion of the situation in the country and the party until the 10th session.... The decision to hold the extraordinary party congress was made only reluctantly and under strong pressure from party grass roots. Insufficiently constructive positions were found vis-a-vis the new social forces, and outstanding decisions were put off again and again....

At the 12th Central Committee session, the Politburo was forced to note that it had not been adequate to meet the demands of the renewal process and had allowed serious failings. At this session, the Politburo and the entire Central Committee resigned.

Klein Speaks on Program

LD1612173589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1558 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The aim of democratic socialism in the GDR is the free development of people's individuality. This was stated today in Berlin by SED Party Executive member Professor Dieter Klein at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] party congress in his report on the future party program. This process would be shaped by party members in solidarity with all people, and not to the detriment of other classes, strata, and peoples. The basis of this is the ensuring of human rights in their totality. "It is a humanist, social and ecologically orientated, performance-linked society on the principle: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his performance," Prof Klein said. The inner development of democratic socialism is interrelated with the solution of global human problems, with the struggle for a lasting world peace, and the preservation of nature.

The striven-for third path is based on the combination of people's property, cooperative ownership and private ownership of the means of production. This path incorporates all forms of ownership into a political and economic democracy, determined by the socialist interests of the workers.

The programmatic change taking place is becoming a final act in a movement in this party, which had been suppressed on a massive scale by the previous party leadership. The new party program should, Prof Klein said, be available by the time of the next party congress. The program of a new party of democratic socialism has to go beyond the election platform to be decided on in 1990. The proposals on this program were worked out by a group of delegates and scientists.

Our country's citizens want freedom for their own vital decisions, the speaker said. Hence, they have made a break with the power of the SED. The SED is now only one among many forces which can lead the country out of the crisis. This party is beginning its birth process at this congress. With the new program it is confronting the other political forces, together with whom a new social path has to be found.

Prof Klein described the striven-for third way, which has to go beyond capitalism and not lead back to administrative socialism. What matters now is not demonstrative marginalization of other political tendencies, but the finding of joint solutions for overcoming the present crisis. Of course, the party feels especially committed to the interests of the working class.

Speaking of the future of the GDR, Prof Klein said that there is no question of a little-country strategy, but the overcoming of the crisis has to lead inevitably into the process of a cooperative, demilitarized, and democratic Europe. "In this process the two German states wil come closer together within a multifacetted community of treaties," he said.

The speaker came out in favor of a cooperative development in peace since, in his words, the qualitative arms build-up, strategies of deterrence and COCOM [Coordinating Committee for East-West trade policy] lists run counter to the release of resources for urgent civilian purposes.

SED Supplements Party Name

LD1612212389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2029 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The delegates at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] extraordinary party congress in Berlin resolved today, in a closed session, to make an addition to the party's name. In the future, the party will be called: Socialist Unity Party of Germany - Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] [Sozialistiche Einheitspartei Deutschlands - Partie das Demokratischen Sozialismus].

Session head Wolfgang Berghofer stated after the press were readmitted that out of 2,645 delegates, 2,434 voted for the new name. There were 172 votes against and 39 abstentions.

Background to Name Change

LD1612215889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2056 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] will, for the time being, be called "Socialist Unity Party of Germany - Party of Democratic Socialism" [SED-PDS]. This was the compromise reached in a closed session this evening by the delegates of the extraordinary party congress. Party Chairman Gregor Gysi announced this important decision after the press had been readmitted. In the question of the name, the party congress had been guided by the fact that it was not prepared "to be split, to tear itself to pieces or to destroy itself." The delegates were of the opinion that a final decision should be made after all the grass-roots members have been consulted.

Gysi pointed to the present legal freedom and vacuum in this respect. The basic legal questions will only be regulated with a law on parties in the coming year. They did not, therefore, want to make any wrong decision today. Those who are still members of the party acknowledge the history of this party and do not want to duck responsibility. But they also committed themselves, Gysi added, to a complete break with Stalinism made here and to a serious, new beginning. These are the reasons for the decision on the party's double name. [passage omitted]

After the conclusion of this 1st day of consultations of the continued party congress, the delegates of the area delegations are meeting with members of the former party leadership for separate talks. The final session of the special party congress starts tomorrow at 0900.

2d Day Opens

LD1712083289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0813 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpt] The extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] continued its deliberations in Berlin this morning. At the start of the final day of deliberations, Chairman Gregor Gysi spoke on the party's current tasks. [passage omitted]

Gysi Urges Consolidation

LD1712090989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0845 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The regular congress of the Socialist Party of Germany - Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] and the elections on May 1990 are the political and temporal points of reference for the new year. Party Chairman Gregor Gysi stated this in Berlin's Dynamo sports hall this morning at the beginning of the last day of discussions at the SED-PDS extraordinary congress.

The election campaign has already begun. The historic day in May of next year is determining the behavior of all parties and movements. Therefore, the renewing party is faced with the urgent task of intraparty agreement in the basic organizations on the program and statute. They must consolidate themselves and form themselves into a party for an election campaign. At such a fateful time, the election campaign should include the consensus of all social forces and should give every form of support to Modrow's coalition government.

SED-PDS Support for Modrow

LD1712095789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Chairman Gregor Gysi this morning spoke on the party's current tasks at the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] extraordinary party congress in Berlin. He announced that the number of members is, at the moment, around 1.7 million. It is a matter of mastering the future while pursuing this potential, of consolidation, and of forming themselves into a party for the election campaign. The SED-PDS fully supports the Modrow coalition government. Whether the GDR steers past the crevasses of anarchy and absorption by the FRG and sets a course for a clear run again depends on the government to a large extent.

Gregor Gysi stressed that the citizens of the republic have worked hard over the past decades and lived in anger but with pride, too. Nothing has been in vain. They have won their self-determination by their own strength. This should not be put at risk. A unique opportunity is opening up through a peaceful, popular democratic movement of creating a genuine, humanistic, and social alternative to the Federal Republic. "We profess our belief in the GDR," Gregor Gysi said. Gysi went on to say the main task now is to make the basic organizations capable of acting. However, careerists and Stalinists could not expect a political home. The grass-roots democracy being aimed for means broad differences of opinion and the formation of will from the bottom upward. An end has been put to unity resolutions.

Touching on organizational structures, Gysi said work in the regions is more important, viewed in the long term, although they are not turning their backs on the enterprises. As far as the misuse of party finances is concerned, former members of the leadership will be sued for compensation. Some of the party's facilities will be offered to new political groups for contractual use. What is the people's property will in the future really be available to the people.

Gysi Appeals to Ex-Party Members

LD1712105489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1009 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The current tasks of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], which yesterday extended its name to "Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS), were at the center of the consultations by the 2,500 delegates at the extraordinary party congress at the Berlin Dynamo sport stadium this morning.

This last session of the extraordinary congress, distributed over two weekends, started with a report by the party chairman. Gregor Gysi briefly outlined the situation: "The first part of the extraordinary party congress was unable to halt the process of the party's disintegration." For this reason comprehensible and acceptable guidelines for the 1.7 million people who are still party members are needed. There must be a clear catalogue of tasks as a basis for action. Addressing disappointed and embittered comrades who recently left the SED, now the SED-PDS, Gysi said: "We implore you: Return to our party." [passage omitted]

Gregor Gysi announced that the Berlin-Mitte SED District [Kreis] Executive is to move to the headquarters of the Berlin Area [Bezirk] Executive. The vacant building, which is party property, could be made available to other parties or organizations by relevant agreements. The headquarters of the party executive is to be made public and accessible to all in future. The building of the former Central Committee is to be equipped with a library, theater, and function rooms. Podium discussions and forums are to be continued in the recently furbished consultation rooms of the building.

Gysi Closes Congress

LD1712140789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1330 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] ended its work shortly before 1400 with brief concluding remarks by party Chairman Gregor Gysi. The delegates sang the "Internationale" at the end.

Earlier, the delegates endorsed the draft statute with a majority vote. It will be valid until the ordinary party congress. The old statute was revoked simultaneously.

The report by the statutes commission was delivered by Wolfgang Pohl [deputy party chairman]. Afterward, Lothar Bisky delivered the the drafting commission's report.

Wolfgang Berghofer, the session chair, announced that all speeches on basic principles of the extraordinary congress will be published in the party press and as pamphlets.

The delegates endorsed the report by Gregor Gysi as a working paper. At the start of this last session of the extraordinary congress, which was held over 2 weekends, the party chairman addressed the tasks of the SED-PDS in a 2 and 1/2-hour report outlining all aspects of social life in a renewed socialism. The congress dispensed with a discussion on this. Motions even were put forward to regard the report as a concluding speech. [passage omitted]

Gysi Speech to Congress

LD1712125389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1108 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The political and social points of reference in the new year are the ordinary SED-PDS congress and the elections on 6 May 1990. This was stated by party Chairman Gregor Gysi at the start of the last day of discussions of the SED-PDS extraordinary congress held at the Berlin Dynamo sports stadium today. The election campaign has already started. The historic day in May of next year will determine the actions of all parties and movements.

At the beginning of his remarks Gysi gave a clear statement on the future of the GDR, on its independence and sovereignty. "We want to introduce our position in public debate in a many-voiced way, so that the two German states can grow into a treaty-based community without endangering European stability through precipitous and ill-considered actions which give cause for fear among the peoples of the continent. The unification of the two German states would be a decision for which no politician would accept responsibility, to transform the GDR into an underdeveloped federal state with an uncertain social future for its citizens, that is, to turn it into an almshouse of the FRG. It would be an unworthy farewell to a country which, in spite of all this, bears the respected names of German Democratic Republic." The GDR's citizens have not lived in vain. They have from their own resources achieved their self-determination and have, through their peaceful and democratic popular movement, given themselves the unique opportunity of creating a humanist, social alternative to the FRG. The party must now in a concentrated effort form a base to determine in which basic organizations the members want to be orgnized. The party still has 1.7 million members at present. The influence of the extraordinary party congress depends on the speed with which all basic organizations will again become capable of action. In all party collectives the necessary conditions must be created to ensure the formulation of opinion and objectives from below to above.

The party is organizing itself both along territorial and production principles. Thus, the basic organizations in the enterprises, institutions, and cooperatives decide on their own responsibility the way in which they will shape further party work and shape political influence on the labor collectives. On the other hand, the dissolution of the basic organizations in the state bodies and armed units is necessary.

A new concept must be drafted for the party enterprises. Guesthouses should be made available to all members and, as appropriate, to other citizens as well. The party executive, whose building will in the future serve as a meeting place, must first decide whether the party college should continue or whether the party school in Kleinmachnow should be turned into a central party school. It is apparent that for reasons of cost an academy, a party college, and a number of institutions are not all needed. For the purposes of theoretical and political qualifications of the members, evening classes, weekend courses, and training evenings which are also open to sympathizers should be used.

The GDR's political system is becoming increasingly pluralistic. Its method of functioning can only take place according to the principle of nonviolent political debate on the basis of the consensus of the Constitution, Gysi stated. The roundtable form of dialogue is not a temporary manifestation. It offers the possibility of integrating existing and newly developing organizations and movements into the discussion on the country's renewal. "We support the position of leading church representatives that the church should neither be a political party nor a part of the political organizations in this society." Gysi thanked the Evangelical and Catholic churches for their intermediary function as hosts of the first roundtable. "We are prepared for a wide-ranging dialogue which covers all topics and questions, and we declare our tolerance toward those who have different opinions. We regret that in the past some believers and church leaders were excluded from this dialogue." The party proclaims its total allegiance to protecting the Jewish religion and culture and to provide the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR and all Jewish fellow citizens with care from state and society. The SED-PDS recommends the government agree with Israel on the resumption of diplomatic relations. It proposes, furthermore, to discuss with all church and religious communities in the GDR the question of whether the law on religion should be drawn up and passed in the People's Chamber.

A new pluralistic political system can only then endure if it is firmly installed constitutionally. A new constitution must be drawn up for this. A completely new view on the separation of powers is necessary. With the creation of an independent constitutional court, a new pillar for a state based on the rule of law is to be built.

Gregor Gysi pleaded for new local policies which are committed to the interests of the citizens. In the past, even the most urgent local political requirements have been disregarded. The central point is the building up of local self-administration in towns and communities. The traditions of the reform of the lands after World War II must be taken up. According to the speaker, preliminary steps toward the self-financing of communities is required soon. The tax revenue of enterprises and installations controlled by towns and communities must be of benefit to the local budgets exclusively. Moreover, local taxes for centrally run production centers are very possible. The party chairman spoke in favor of the founding of a "GDR town and community assembly" [staedte und Gemeindetages der DDR].

Gysi cited the need to be more in touch with the citizens, and expertise as the principle for the administrative reform to be prepared. A new constitution could provide for a president as a figure of integration for the republic instead of the Council of State. Other laws to be resolved by the People's Chamber concern parties, party financing, criminal law, criminal proceedings law, and the authority of the People's Police.

Gysi spoke extensively on improving industry and agriculture. It is intended to transform the demand market, which is characterized by shortages, into a supply market principally oriented toward people's needs. Quickly reducing the disproportion between the production of components and finished products is a priority. "A rule of thumb might be: How succesfully an enterprise works and its products prove themselves on the market must be reflected in the income of each worker, differentiated according to his own personal performances." Prices and subsidies policy must stop waste and speculation. The SED-PDS supports socially just compensation, particularly for families with children, pensioners, and citizens on low incomes. Unemployment, homelessness, and a state of emergency in education must remain alien conditions.

Part of the necessary changes in the agrarian sector is to remove the division between plant and animal production. The cooperatives need the full right to use land and their funds. Decisions must also be made against exports and in favor of providing better equipment for agricultural enterprises. He pleaded for the creation of a market of means of production in a short space of time. The location of vegetable cultivation should not be changed from one day to the next in the interests of secure supplies. The people must finally succeed in once more entering vegetable shops and leaving them satisfied. The promotion of private trades and trade can occur by means of simplified conditions for permits and tax rules oriented toward performance.

He said on foreign and security policy that the Stalinist model of socialism has not only failed in domestic policy but has also damaged the GDR's reputation on foreign policy. The country's influence as a recognized factor for peace in Europe and the world is in danger. Gysi stressed the significance of the allegiance with the Soviet Union, which is an existential issue in the fields of foreign policy and foreign trade. Today there are opportunities to enter into a security partnership and one of values with the Soviet Union on a fresh basis. The GDR should work toward a change in the principles of relations between European states with the aim of creating a common European home. The peace order in Europe requires structures which transcend the blocs. The SED stands by its alliance with the Warsaw Pact, the party chairman stressed, but supports its politization and democratization.

Pointing to the Germans in two states, he stressed that this is the guarantee of securing peace and stability in Europe. The party starts from the assumption of the existence of the German question as a European problem; it supports respect for borders as they had emerged in 1945 as a result of World War II, which was unleashed by the Germans. The future of the Germans is seen in a common Europe, and for this reason a security partnership must be created between the GDR and the FRG. A partnership based on treaties is conceivable. History will show whether this will have a confederate character.

The conclusion of a legal assistance agreement with the FRG is necessary. The Salzgitter registration office should be abolished as a relic of the cold war. The GDR's capital and Berlin (West) should shape their relations at a local level in such a way that a pivot of cultural and economic life on the continent is formed.

Whoever seeks a special German path to unification is playing with fire. After the two world wars, the Germans have a duty to do everything for peace and not to allow any destabilization. The SED must take a political position on this issue in particular.

The party has many allies and sees itself as a part of the international workers' movement and is with all those who raise their voices if man's rights are violated. It stands at the side of the parties and movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are fighting for national and social liberation. Dialogue is also conducted with everyone in favor of resolving the global problems of mankind. The most important thing is and remains the preservation of peace, both external and internal. This is the decisive requirement for the democratic and socialist revolution in the GDR.

Speaking on security and military policy, Gregor Gysi explained that the SED consistently pursues the antiwar law as an uppermost requirement of the nuclear age. The GDR should regard and treat no people, no state, and no military organization as an enemy. The constitutional brief of the National People's Army should be organized in a concrete way on the basis of a realistic analysis of the threat, free from ideology.

The chairman pleaded for the reduction, if possible, of military service to 15 or 20 months, for the further reduction of defense expenditure, and for a state plan for the immediate release of military capacities for the national economy. The law on substitute civilian service is to be passed by the People's Chamber by 1990 at the latest. The preparation of a military reform and the disbanding of the National Defense Council will be recommended to the government. Gysi spoke in favor of doing away with military ceremononies and the abolition of parades of honor. After the disbanding of the Office for National Security, the immediate organization of an intelligence service and an office for the protection of the Constitution is necessary.

Touching on the position toward the intelligentsia, Gysi said that the party is in favor of all the material and intellectual conditions being created so that the scientific, technical, medical, pedagogical, and artistic intelligentsia can freely develop their creative forces without any administrative regimentation and ideological demands. Their work is a productive factor for social progress.

The party recommends that the government prepare an education reform and a new education law. On the basis of its program, the party is introducing original ideas for a socialist education system in the struggle for consensus. More attention must be given to the interests of childen, young people, apprentices, and students. Part of the essence of a renewed GDR must be child-oriented. The basis for this is the United Nations Convention on Children's Rights.

After the FDJ [Free German Youth] had broken the one-sided ties to the SED, the founding of a new youth organization, perhaps bearing the name "Rosa Luxemburg" should now be aimed for, Gregor Gysi then stated. With regard to the equality and equal status of the sexes, which has not been implemented so far, there is still much to do.

The party chairman spoke in favor of a new determination of the position of health and social services and described the raising of the necessary expenditure as the decisive starting point for future developments. In agreement with the opinion of leading doctors in the republic, a higher proportion of the national income should be made available for this. "At the moment it is a matter of overcoming the serious shortage of care staff, to which end wage rises are indispensable." Older and disabled citizens must be given considerably more support.

The party supports a coalition of reason in culture, education, and science. It is interested in cooperation with democratic and socialist cultural movements in Eastern and Western Europe and calls on its members in the arts and cultural institutions to develop this cooperation. "We propose a great arts spectacular for 1990. It should document the significant role of writers, actors, singers, rock musicians, and graphic artists in the democratic awakening in the GDR and be a broad and lively display of the new culture."

It is a part of the humanistic nature of sport that it is guided by the Olympic ideals of peace, international understanding, mutual respect, and equality. However, at issue is a sport for all which is committed to the requirements and interests of the people.

The modern mass media, the speaker said, are the most important organs of cultural liberation and representatives of the pluralistic new public opinion. The party is working for dialogue and variety of views in the media and an expansion of the media landscape in the GDR. All the political forces and cultural groupings advocating democracy and peace should have their say in the media. The creative forces in the arts and entertainment will be encouraged by the party to provide mass-effective media entertainment. "We are for a democratic, social control of television, radio, and ADN state media through the creation of relevant advisory boards."

The SED-PDS is in favor of elections in which the people determine their parliamentary deputies in a free and sovereign fashion. The highest order of the highest representative body of the people to be elected on 6 May 1990 should be the preservation of the GDR's state sovereignty. "By waging our battle, we fight for the GDR, for the social security of our working people, for stability and peace in the whole of Europe!"

By request the party chairman also spoke again after a break for deliberations and spoke on nationalities policy. All state citizens of the GDR must have equal rights and equal chances regardless of their nationality, their ideology, or their beliefs. This is a principle under constitutional law and must be implemented more strictly in the future. The party is tasked with seeing that the national minority of Sorbs is preserved. Something must be done for the Sorbian fellow-citizens and their development in the GDR.

Gregor Gysi referred to a further urgent necessity: "We have to tackle every tendency toward xenophobia, that is antifascism which is needed now." Apart from including foreign citizens with permanent residence in the GDR in all benefits for GDR citizens, these citizens should also have the right to be a member of the party.

7-Point Program of SED-PDS Outlined

LD1712165789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1542 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The special party congress of the SED- PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] has adopted a 7-point program on the party's upcoming tasks.

According to them there is a need to hold elections to the executives at all levels before the next party congress. The party organizations are to be given help from groups of instructors which are to be set up. Talks are to be conducted with each and every comrade about his concrete participation in the renewed party. According to the 7-point program it will be every comrade's political task to work for a nonstop production process, a smooth work-day routine, and stable supplies.

The objective of the election campaign now under way for May 1990 is to preserve the GDR's state independence and to bear responsibility with an influential socialist party in the representative bodies and the government. To this end it is necessary for the area [bezirk] and district [kreis] executives to quickly set up election campaign offices and election campaign teams.

Seventh [as received], the discussion on the program and the next objectives of the Party for Democratic Socialism is now beginning in the party.

SED-PDS Declaration Defines Party Objectives

LD1712174489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1540 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The delegates of the extraordinary party congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany - Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] adopted a declaration at the end of their discussions. Under the heading "For the GDR - for democratic socialism," they come out in favor of the radical renewal of GDR society, together with all democrats and humanists. The democratic expression of the people's will has initiated the revolutionary renewal of socialism.

The party intends to bear responsibility for this country, the document goes on to say, to preserve the state sovereignty of the GDR, and to protect the country from an economic sell-out. What is required is a democratic form of socialism on German soil, unrestricted rule by the people, and state legality—constitutionally guaranteed political pluralism with a democratic parliament of high authority.

The SED-PDS is in favor of an economically competitive and ecologically healthy country. Social ownership of the means of production should be preserved and developed, cooperative and private economic initiatives are to be promoted. The implementation of the performance principle is to be accompanied by social security for the citizens. Every citizen has the freedom to make for himself the decisions affecting his life. Real conditions have to be created for equality of opportunity for women.

The stated objectives of the SED-PDS will also include the advancement of science, culture, education and technology. Efficient schooling must guarantee the equality of opportunity of the growing generation and cultivate individuality.

With this, the statement says, we want to ensure that "not another citizen leaves our country because he no longer sees a future here for himself and his family." The party approves cooperation and friendship with the CPSU and with all parties and movements in the world which are for peace and social progress. It is in favor of drastic disarmament and nonviolence in interstate relations.

"Our party stands in the tradition of the labor movement, humanism, and anti-fascism. It is continuing the work of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

It espouses August Bebel's Social Democratic Party and the Spartakusbund of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and acknowledges the hundreds of thousands of German communists, social democrats, and citizens of all sections of the population and political convictions who stood up to Hitlerite fascism, the SED-PDS states. Pointing to "our most painful and most important historical experience," it stresses: "If the progressive parties and movements fight with one another instead of going along together, the time of the demagogues and right-wing agitators will come. Let us work together for nonviolence in political disputes, which has been the characteristic of our revolution so far. Let us speak out for right and law. There must be no pograms. Revenge is barbarity."

The majority of the people in the GDR, like the SED-PDS, support a European peace order, a secure way of overcoming the division of our continent and a common European home. A treaty-based community between the GDR and the FRG also serves this. "Our neighbors and the peoples of Europe expect us to meet our responsibility for peace. We want permeable, friendly, but also secure borders with our neighbors."

Gysi Gives Briefing After Congress

LD1712164189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Gregor Gysi, chairman of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany—Party for Democratic Socialism], has described the fact that a lawyer heads the party as not unusual. In a briefing after the end of the extraordinary party congress, he said this afternoon that it is a new beginning. One should not be surprised that there is much that is new.

Asked about the difference between his party and a Western-type social democratic party, Gysi stressed that the SED-PDS is not anti-communist and that, in itself, is a very big difference. "We are also trying not to be fearful and half-hearted. It does not bother us when conservative parties attack us, we can live with that quite easily."

However, one could gain a certain amount of knowledge about democracy and the capacity for reforms from social democrats. The SED-PDS draws on very varied traditions, including social-democratic ones.

"We are trying to take over for ourselves whatever we regard as progressive and correct from all these traditions. Perhaps we will make a mistake in one area or another, that is quite possible. However it is worth trying."

In answer to a question of whether the aims of the party could be realized with the old membership, Gysi pointed out that, in the meantime, there have been new entries to the party. In the SED there were very many who had been urging real renewal for some time. Since 1986, and especially since 1988, the conflicts within the grass-roots organizations had intensified enormously.

"Of course we must all change our thinking. But this does not only apply to the members of this party; it also applies to the citizens of this country. New thinking does, after all, demand a new approach to things, and everyone is capable of changing their thinking and learning anew. One should accuse no one in advance of not having this ability."

At this party congress it was noticeable how great had been the urge toward this new beginning and toward this rethinking. There are also some, and this had come out very clearly, "for whom we no longer want to be a political home." These are the careerists and Stalinists who are not even prepared to rethink.

Furthermore, Gregor Gysi stressed, there is no special German path to unification. "We need the European process of unification. Every special path is a dangerous path." He said he hopes that he has given convincing grounds for this both for himself and apparently also for the delegates to the party congress.

Further on Briefing

LD1712232189 East Berlin Television Service in German 1830 GMT 17 Dec 89

["Excerpts" from the 17 December post-Congress press conference by Socialist Unity Party of Germany—Party for Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi in Berlin—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified corespondent] Today you very clearly stated that there will be no reunification. How long, do you think, will you able to stick to that position?

[Gysi] Well, I very clearly stated that there will be no special German path toward unification, but that we need the European process of unification and that any special path is a dangerous one. I believe I did, at least for me and obviously for the delegates to the party convention, too, explain the reasons about the danger behind such a unification. What we need now is close cooperation with the FRG, including West Berlin, and we need a treaty-based community in various sectors.

I did discuss that subject regarding legal aid and aid between official agencies and I stressed how important these aspects are for the people's everyday life. We should not destroy opportunities that are possible in that context by shaking our neighboring countries and the peoples as a result of demands for a great Germany.

[Correspondent] Mr Gysi, you have a new name that is not altogether new. Does that mean that the break with the past has not been fully implemented?

[Gysi] Well, I do not know whether one should take it that way. In fact, we have a new name while we are declaring ourselves for the history of that party. That means that we do not want to steal away from that history.

The whole Western press criticized us for stealing away from our history—no, we do not do that.

[Correspondent] What is it that discriminates the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] from a social-democratic party of the Western type?

[Gysi] For example, the SED Party for Democratic Socialism is not anti-communist. That is really a big difference. For the rest, we try not to be fearful and half-hearted. Thus, we do not bother when conservative parties attack us. We can live with that quite well, and we do not give way too quickly.

Gysi Assesses Results of SED-PDS Congress

LD1812093189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0257 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The extraordinary SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany—Party for Democratic Socialism] party congress fulfilled its specific task and gave the party executive the opportunity to clear up and restart. This assessment was made by Party Chairman Gregor Gysi in an interview published today by the socialist daily NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

Gysi on the results of the party congress, which ended on Sunday: "First, through this party congress, a process of consolidation can begin, provided that all the delegates begin their respective tasks now. Second, the delegates, but, I believe, also the members outside, have become aware of how important the existence of our party is for the existence of the country, for the prevention of a right-wing great Germany. And from this results the third issue, namely that it is not primarily a question of the party itself, but a question of substantially higher interests."

Asked how the party's double-barrelled name is to be assessed, Gysi said that this compromise was both political and legal. "We just have to await the party law in order not to put a foot wrong, in order to know how this law will deal with name changes. But it is also a question of grass-roots democracy."

The delegates had not been elected in order to decide on a new name. The party executive wanted to arrive at an understanding with the grass-roots, also on the type and manner of a decision, possibly even on a strike ballot. "And we were determined not to split over the question of the name. The issues at stake are too substantial for us to be able to afford this. And finally: A political compromise, since we made both things clear: First, we accept esponsibility for history, and second, we want to be a new party."

Office for National Security To Be Disbanded

LD1712130789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1243 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has informed People's Chamber President Dr Guenter Maleuda of its decision to disband the Office for National Security. As ADN was informed by the government's press and information service, the decision at the same time enviions the formation of a GDR intelligence service and a body for the protection of the GDR Constitution. The two institutions will come directly under the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The activities of the new institutions to be formed will be to preserve peace and guarantee external security, it was said. Their task will be to secure the constitutional order of the GDR, counter espionage and attacks on the national economy, and wage the fight against extreme right-wing, neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic actions, as well as terrorism.

The decision also envisions that a civilian representative of the government will be employed for the office's disbandment. Buildings and other assets will be handed to new legal owners for use in the national economy in as far as they are not needed by the new institutions to be formed.

In his letter to People's Chamber President Dr Maleuda, government chief Hans Modrow also states that he will request at the next People's Chamber session the recall of Dr Wolfgang Schwanitz as member of the Council of Ministers as a necessary consequence of the dissolution of the Office for National Security.

At the same time, Martin Ziegler, member of the High Consistory, has also been informed about the details of the decision to dissolve the Office for National Security for the next meeting of the round table tomorrow.

The government takes the dissolution of the office as an opportunity to stress that these former staff members, like other citizens of the country, must be given the opportunity to use their potential for the country's economic development. The tasks of economic stabilization and the comprehensive process of renewal as a whole need every citizen.

Committee Forms

LD1712192489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1743 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the instructions of the GDR government, the Berlin Control Committee for the Disbanding of the Office of National Security was constituted on Sunday. According to the spokesman of the committee, Dr Michael Kummer, the parties and citizens' movements of the roundtable, the state Prosecutor's Office, and the People's Police, are participating. A first inspection of buildings of the Office of National Security in the capital was arranged for Tuesday. The Control Committee has set itself the task of undertaking a rapid inspection and sorting of the files and data, with full guarantees of data protection, Dr Kummer said. Experts will be coopted for the tasks connected with the disbanding of the office. Recommendations are being sought for the future use of the facilities.

A further outcome of the meeting is the initiation of a citizens' committee for the capital. It is to include representatives of the church, of the health service and the People's Police, as well as members of parties and citizens' movements. So far it has been envisioned that this committee should concern itself with the further development of the security partnership in all areas related to the life in our city, the speaker of the control committee said. Based on joint responsibility, this will include, above all, the assessment of the situation with the involvement of competent citizens and the working out of necessary measures. The work of the citizens' committee is regarded as an opportunity to take part in the decision-making process, to support the work of the People's Police, and at the same time to make it more comprehensible.

The government informed People's Chamber President Dr Guenther Maleuda during the weekend of its decision to dissolve the Office for National Security. As ADN learned from the government's press and information service, the decision provides for the formation both of a GDR news service and a body for defense of the Constitution. Both institutions will be directly subordinated to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The activity of the new institutions is apparently directed toward the preservation of peace and the guarantee of external security. Their duty is to ensure the constitutional order of the GDR, to protect the GDR against spying and attacks on the national economy, and to wage war against right-wing extremist, neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic activities, as well as against terrorism.

The decision, which was taken at the meeting of the Council of Ministers last Thursday, also stipulates that a civilian representative of the government be entrusted with the dissolution of the office. Buildings and other assets will be handed over to new legal owners for national economic use, insofar as they are not needed by the newly formed institutions.

In his letter to People's Chamber President Dr Maleuda, head of government Hans Modrow also says that in connection with the disbanding of the Office for National Security he will apply for Dr Wolfgang Schwanitz to be relieved of his post as member of the Council of Ministers at the next meeting of the People's Chamber.

Church assemby member [oberkirchenrat] Martin Ziegler has also been informed, ahead of tomorrow's meeting of the roundtable, of the details of the decision to disband the Office for National Security.

The government took the disbanding of the office as an occasion to reaffirm that its former members, just like other citizens of our country, must also be given the opportunity to use their efforts for the economic development of the country. The tasks of economic stabilization, and of the comprehensive process of renewal in general, needs every citizen.

Kreis Offices Being Dissolved

AU1812123689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Report by the National Security Office"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The dissolution of the kreis [district] offices of the National Security Office is making swift progress, it is said in a release of the office's press department, which was sent to ADN on Tuesday [12 December]. Thanks to the good cooperation with the People's Police and the security partnership with representatives of citizens' movements, which is proving its worth, there have not been any incidents worth mentioning. "Files have been secured under the supervision of government representatives, military prosecutors, and citizens' representatives. Military equipment was handed to the People's Police." The official buildings, which are now unoccupied, have been offered to the local councils, it is stressed. If there are no impediments, the orderly dissolution of the kreis offices can be concluded over the next few days.

Reasons for Demonstration During Kohl Visit

LD1712150189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1349 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Various social forces have called for a demonstration on Tuesday [19 December] at 1700 in Berlin's Alexander Square for the retention of GDR sovereignty and against selling out and reunification on the occasion of the visit to the GDR by FRG Chancellor Kohl. Among the initiators of the demonstration, which is to end with a rally in Academy Square are representatives of the "For Our Country" initiative, the Church from Below, the Peace and Human Rights Initiative, the Berlin Students' Antireunification Initiatives, the Green Party, the United Left Initiative, the Berlin Environmental Library, Autonomous Antifa, the Initiative for Independent Trade Unions, the Lila Offensive, members of the Berlin New Forum, the Democracy Now citizens' movement, as well as the trade union group of the 23d Secondary School, which has already called for its own rally on schools policy in Academy Square.

Under the question "What is Kohl bringing?" the initiators note: "Ten stages along the path to a half colony: Germanic jingoism without prospects for our neighbors; a low-wage country of the GDR." The call for the demonstration adds: "Every day we see and hear: government negotiations without legitimation; the sell-out of our enterprises; and calls for reunification. We have the chance to start something new: self-management in the factories and society; a life in solidarity determined by ourselves; participation and responsibility for all."

TV Views Development of U.S. Policy

LD1812121389 East Berlin Television Service in German 1830 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Unattributed commentary broadcast from in front of East Berlin's U.S. Embassy]

[Text] The resident of this building [U.S. Embassy in East Berlin] has established a report on the developments in his host country, the GDR—as a matter of common diplomatic duties. Not quite so common, however, was the addressee's reaction to that report. U.S. Secretary of State Baker quoted before the press in Washington what Ambassador Berkley in East Berlin had considered remarkable, and 4 days later even came to see for himself and talk to Premier Modrow in order to learn more about this revolution at a breathtaking pace, as the ambassador had put it.

Virtually overnight, conditions have been established that meet the long-standing U.S. definition of an appropriate basis for improving bilateral relations. Free travel and multiparty elections are some of them; in a nutshell, they all go in the Helsinki third basket. Will there now even be a chance to also fill baskets one and two, respectively, with political and economic cooperation?

Head of government Modrow, in his Potsdam statement, spoke of a dialogue that might be developed into cooperation. Meanwhile, a number of U.S. politicians appear to be pondering that idea, too. Last week alone, GDR journalists had the opportunity of addressing their questions to that effect to three different groups of congressional delegates during their visits here in Berlin. The answers were pragmatic and businesslike throughout. The delegates reflected interest in current developments over here, referred to considerations on the removal of trade barriers, but denied to take any firm position before the 6 May elections.

What I still have in mind is a remark Baker made in Potsdam and repeatedly so, for the sake of greater emphasis. The United States has an interest, he said, in stable and peaceful development in the GDR.

Cheney's Armament Statements Criticized

AU1512060289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 89 p 2

[Franz Knipping editorial: "Cheney's Phantom of Threat"]

[Text] In view of the changes in Eastern Europe, the opportunities for dialogue and cooperation between East and West are better than ever. This position was adopted by the heads of state and government of the NATO states in Brussels, after the U.S. President had briefed them on his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta. Bush assessed the summit as useful and as an important step forward. He came out in favor of advancing disarmament of conventional armaments, strategic nuclear weapons, and chemical weapons.

The question of the practical consequences has not yet been answered. Is NATO thinking about revising its military strategy? Will it finally take leave of the lie of a threat from the East? Will it adjust to giving up its character as a military pact and to increasingly developing its profile as a political alliance in order to promote detente and cooperation across systems?

The answers were given by U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney in an interview published by the Bonn daily DIE WELT. First, he said: "For the current phase our NATO strategy is excellent. It offers a reliable forward defense through credibly, conventionally equipped armed forces and is supported by our nuclear capability up to the strategic systems."

Second, Cheney admits that the USSR and the Warsaw Pact have unilaterally reduced their armed forces, cut their defense expenditures, and are seriously willing to negotiate in Vienna. Nevertheless, he not only clings to the phantom of the alleged threat, he is blowing it up strongly. DIE WELT headline: "The Strategic Threat Has Even Increased."

Third, the Pentagon chief deduces from this that the capability of deterrence and the military efficiency of NATO must not be reduced in the future, either. "Only slight changes in the future distribution of troops and in the definition of the tasks" are conceivable.

The result: There are contradictions—to put it mildly—between the determination of positions made by the conference of the Western top politicians in Brussels and the assessment of the situation by the defense minister of the largest NATO power. Time will have to tell which views and declarations of intent are the binding ones in practice.

Modrow Receives CPSU's Yakovlev

LD1512192389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1715 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The USSR stands firmly at the side of the GDR in its efforts for social renewal and supports the measures for this introduced by Modrow's coalition government, including the measures that are being taken for expanding economic relations with the FRG. This was stated by CPSU Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev in Berlin today during a talk with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow. The GDR prime minister had a detailed telephone conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday, in which the Soviet Union's attitude of solidarity with the GDR was expressed.

Stability and a flourishing development of the GDR are in the interests of peace and security in Europe. Yakovlev stressed that the Soviet Union can be fully depended on, also to adhere to the USSR-GDR foreign trade treaties.

Modrow spoke about the government's efforts to consolidate the economy and to guarantee normal social life and law and order. He explained the basic feature of intended reforms and also described aspects of the treaty-based partnership aimed for with the FRG. The talk was very open and held in a friendly atmosphere.

Kohl Begins 3-Day Visit to Hungary

Arrival, Agenda Noted

LD1612141289 Budapest MTI in English 1103 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 16 (MTI)—Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the FRG, arrived in Budapest this morning, December 16.

As Hans Klein, spokesman for the Bonn Cabinet, said, Herr Kohl's three-day visit is meant to express thanks to the Hungarian people and government for all their assistance to the GDR refugees.

Following his arrival, the chancellor is to lay a wreath at the monument to Hungarian heroes. Historian Herr Kohl will then attend a festive session at Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences, Budapest, where he will be awarded an honorary doctorate.

Early this afternoon, Herr Kohl is to call on Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. Later on, he is scheduled to meet representatives of the federation of Germans in Hungary and the Maltese charity service.

This evening, a gala dinner will be hosted in his honour in the parliament building.

On December 17, the chancellor will follow a private programme.

On December 18, Herr Kohl is scheduled to meet Gyula Horn, foreign minister, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic, and Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of parliament, and deliver a speech at the parliamentary session.

The chancellor will give an international news conference and, just before his departure [passage indistinct]

Helmut Kohl's entourage is composed of almost 60 prominent economic and cultural personalities and parliamentarians. The official delegation includes Theo Waigel, minister of finance, Norbert Blum, minister of labour and social affairs, Hans Klein, minister of special tasks and head of the press and information office, Otto Schlecht, state secretary at the Ministry of Economics, Werner Tegtmeier, state secretary of labour and social affairs, Dieter Schulte, parliamentary state secretary at the Ministry of Transport, and Hans Arnot, ambassador of the FRG to Hungary.

After their arrival, the federal chancellor and his wife drove to the faculty of political sciences and law of the Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences where the university council conferred an honorary degree on Mr Kohl in recognition of his activity. Promoting an approach between the Western and Eastern parts of Europe, appreciating the merits of the honoured, Professor Kalman Gyorgyi recalled that Chancellor Kohl had followed the development of Hungary-FRG relations with attention and sympathy since he entered office in 1982. In the recent years, this interest and sympathy have further increased and now the Republic of Hungary occupies a special place in the external relations of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr Gyorgyi said.

Mr Kohl expressed his thanks for the honorary degree, which he evaluated as a sign of close contacts between Germans and Hungarians. Then the chancellor outlined the conception of a united Europe. Governed by the principles of freedom, self-determination and respect for human rights, common European culture, the strongest bond between the peoples of the continent, is one of the major means required for realizing this idea, Mr Kohl said.

Hungary is returning to the circle of free European democracies, Mr Kohl said. The federal chancellor welcomed the reform process which had profoundly changed Hungary and given a signal for other countries in central, eastern and southern Europe as well. Mr Kohl expressed thanks to the Hungarian Government for its contribution to settling the affair of GDR refugees.

It is also due to the success of reform in Hungary that, after forty years, my compatriots in the GDR have embarked on the road towards peace, human rights and self-determination with a peaceful revolution, the chancellor said. The Germans should they live either in the East and in the West, wish self-determination for each German. Our aim is to have a free and united Germany in a free and united Europe, Mr Kohl said.

The federal chancellor recalled that the Hungarian foreign minister had filed the application of his country for full membership in the Council of Europe in Strasbourg on November 16. The FRG supports this application, Mr Kohl said.

In the afternoon, the chancellor laid a wreath on the monument of Hungarian heroes on the heroes' square. Then Mr Kohl and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth held talks in the parliament building with limited attendance.

According to the MTI's information, Helmut Kohl and Miklos Nemeth paid distinguished attention to evaluating Hungary's reform processes. The federal chancellor said that although the efforts of the FRG were mainly concentrated on supporting the reforms of the GDR, the FRG would not forget about Hungary, and the Hungarian people could invariably count on its support.

The chancellor surveyed the achievemens of the latest Strasbourg summit, stressing that Hungary's evaluation has essentially changed in the 12-nation community. Today Hungary has a positive image among the West European countries, he said.

Concerning the idea of German reunification, Mr Kohl stressed that Gyula Horn's assessment supporting the idea of German unity had been welcomed in the FRG.

Discussing international affairs, both sides emphasized that the success of Soviet perestroika would be of vital importance for the East European reforms. Mr Kohl welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev's motion for convening another Helsinki conference, which would focus on arms limitation, economic cooperation and environmental protection. In a Helsinki-II conference like that, the German issue could not be sidestepped either, Mr Kohl said.

Kohl, Nemeth Interviewed on Ties

LD1612202289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl by correspondent Laszlo Kanyo at the Parliament Building in Budapest on 16 December; Kohl remarks in German followed by passage-by-passage translation into Hungarian; from the "168 hours" program—recorded]

[Text] [Kanyo] Mr Chancellor, you came to Hungary to thank the Hungarian people, the Hungarian Government, for what they did for the GDR citizens. Since then many things, changes, enormous changes, have taken place in the GDR, and many of my fellow countrymen believe that Bonn's attention and assistance will be concentrated increasingly on the GDR, while we will be pushed into the background.

[Kohl] I am here now for three important reasons. One is the long-standing, traditional friendship between Hungary and Germany. This is a long joint history. I am certain that a long joint future lies ahead of us.

The second reason is that Hungary is a model among the central, southern, and southeastern European countries. Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroyka and the Hungarian processes, the Hungarian reforms, the Hungarian model enabled the unfolding of the reforms for the other countries. Hungary and Poland were the first to travel along this path, the GDR followed them, and I hope that Czechoslovakia will also follow them in every regard. However, it remains a fact that Hungary has played an extremely decisive role in this. For this reason it is of basic importance for us, for the Germans, and also for all Europeans, that Hungary continue to progress successfully—it should be successful in opening up, first and foremost, in the reforms which (?increase) the freedom of the citizens, democratization, since you soon will face elections—toward a free democracy which is realized in the Republic of Hungary.

Of course, if the intention is really to provide freedom, by this word, work and bread are necessary for the people. This is why it is of fundamental importance that the economic reforms are also successful in Hungary. We, the FRG, will do what we can and want, by way of contributing; as we have done so in the past, we will do in the future, too.

Just a week ago, at the EC summit meeting in Strasbourg, we dealt very intensively with Hungary, and I can safely say, I am certain, that the EEC will make payable the credit to Hungary of one billion ECU's [European Currency Units], to encourage and support Hungarian economic reform. I can say that we, the FRG, were very active in this sphere, too.

And there is the third reason, which you already touched on in your question. I simply would like to give thanks for your conduct vis-a-vis my compatriots in the GDR. Therefore, I want to give thanks to the Hungarian on behalf of the Germans. And I am among those who profess, in private life and in politics, too, that gratitude must be practiced, and if one is grateful for something it must not be forgotten.

And now I ask you to forget that I am the federal chancellor and let me, simply as Helmut Kohl, say that I have great affection for Hungary. I am very happy to be here.

[Kanyo] Mr Premier, allow me to ask you something. If someone comes to our country to express his gratitude, it is not courteous to ask him right away for something. But we have just heard that there might be energy problems in our country in the winter, did you ask for assistance in this matter, or did you receive any promises on any other issue?

[Nemeth] First and foremost, I'd like to add to what the chancellor just said: The two countries' history and cooperation are unclouded; they go back a long time. And as he pointed out, there is at least as secure a future ahead of us. These do not develop from one day to the next. Alongside the historical, traditionally good relations and causes, a role is played, naturally, by the strong economic, I might add, political-economic-diplomatic relations, going back several years, between the two governments, and especially between the two south German provinces and Hungary.

Therefore, viewing the matter in this context, interrelationships, I can say that when Hungary was in need, in trouble, whether in the past or at present, we have safely been able to turn to our German friends, and first and foremost to the chancellor.

He, having earlier understood the structural problems, difficulties of our economic reform, expressed several times—not just in words but in deeds—that he stands by us, and that he will help to resolve Hungarian problems.

Regarding the concrete energy situation, we did, in fact, exchange words, however not now, but earlier. And as the chancellor put it at the time, if there is trouble I will safely turn to him; we will find a means to help.

Now, however, this is not the situation, but if one plans securely for the future he does not preclude extreme cases, such as let us say, if there is a hard winter, if there are not enough energy resources at the nation's disposal. Can we count on anything? I can safely say that the chancellor promised that in the event this undesirable development takes place, they will help.

[Kanyo] Were any other agreements reached?

[Nemeth] A large delegation consisting of economic, trade experts, and leaders came with the chancellor. Today, tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow, many agreements will be signed. We have also agreed that just like up to now, the FRG, and the chancellor personally will undertake—if I may put it this way—a locomotive role in building relations between Hungary and the Community, the European Community.

Alongside this, we surveyed the international situation; we especially assessed the processes taking place in the Central-East European countries, the place and role of the Hungarian reforms in these, how and in what manner we should act in the future so that we reach the state of democratization and general pluralism, peacefully, not through explosions.

[Kanyo] Mr Chancellor, my next question is as follows: The German issue is more open than ever before. You have a 10-point plan. Europe has a plan. The GDR has its own plan. Indeed, the superpowers have one. Now, at the moment, how do you view the issue of German reunification?

[Kohl] I submitted this 10-point program to outline ideas pointing to the future. This is not some kind of a calendar with a deadline in which it might be possible to calculate in terms of days, weeks, or years. It is merely a concept, how the German problem can be resolved in an all-European context.

Konrad Adenauer already said that the German question could be resolved only under the European roof, in an all-European context. And this is entirely the case. We are not alone. We live here, in the center of Europe, and we must endeavor, with joint efforts, to make the European house stable. In this, many things must be taken into account, for example the neighbors' rightful security needs, requirements, both in the East and the West. The objective of my policy is that in the future German territory should always be the starting point for peace; but true peace is conceivable only in the event of freedom.

A precondition of freedom is that the people themselves should decide their fate. And every people on earth, the Germans, too, lay a claim to the right of self-determination. And this does not, cannot, mean that we, the Germans living in the FRG, might want to force something on the Germans living in the GDR. The Germans in the GDR must decide, themselves, on their own path. And I am sure of what they want because they are Germans.

But very much patience, very much level-headedness, and very much premeditation, as well as time, are necessary for all this. This is an historical process, but we would like to go through to the end of it.

Kohl, Nemeth on Hopes for Future

LD1712022289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Dec 89

["Excerpt" of interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl by correspondent Laszlo Kanyo at the Parliament Building in Budapest on 16 December; from the "168 Hours" program—recorded]

[Text] [Kanyo] A few meters from here, the Christmas tree is being decorated. What do you personally wish for yourselves, or for your countries, for Christmas?

[Kohl in German, with passage-by-passage Hungarian translation] This Christmas will precede by a few days the beginning of 1990, thus the next decade, the final decade of a century which saw very much suffering and misery. And we still have 10 years until this century ends. I therefore wish for us to make use of these 10 years, for us to make good many things which went wrong in this century, in the interest of the peace and freedom of the European peoples.

[Nemeth] In agreement with all Mr Chancellor has said, I would like to voice two wishes which are very essential from the viewpoint of the country's future. Let this country get peacefully to the first free multi-party elections. The other: Let us keep this Hungarian economy on its feet, so it can function; let us take this reform, which brings us closer to Europe, further. In other words, let us set forth on the path of constitutionalizing the economic reforms which will result in advance within foreseeable time for this people which has suffered so much. For this, patience, tolerance for one another, and unfortunately, the acceptance of sacrifices, are necessary. I wish for us to be unified in this. Let us believe that this will be successful. If we, Hungarians here at home, do our utmost in this interest those who see the all-European, or perhaps I could say world political, significance of the Hungarian reform will also help us.

Kohl Addresses Deputies

LD1812104689 Hamburg DPA in German 0952 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Budapest (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] has asked the Hungarian parliament to make possible the restruction of the country's economy, if need be through unpopular measures. "The door to the structural renewal of your country's economy is open at last through courageous and far-sighted resolutions," Kohl said today in his address before the deputies in Budapest. [passage omitted]

In his address, Kohl promised Hungary the federal government's further active support. He announced that he would soon advocate the early start of negotiations about visa exemptions between the Federal Republic and Hungary in order to make the meeting of peoples from the two countries easier. The chancellor also appealed to the industrialists of the two countries to use the opportunities for cooperation. Bonn will continue to support Hungary's application for membership of the Council of Europe.

As in his earlier talks with the government, Kohl reiterated before the Hungarian parliament that in solving the German question, the security requirements of the neighbors must be taken into account. There would be no "German solo-turns or special ways," and no "backward-glancing nationalism." The answer to this question remains European. "We seek to overcome the division of Europe and the division of our fatherland organically," the chancellor emphasized.

Horn Views German Reunification on FRG TV

LD1612115689 Budapest MTI in English 1029 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, December 15 (MTI)—"I believe the eventual reunification of the two Germanies is the exclusive affair of the Germans. In the end, it all boils down to whether they want reunification, and if so, in what form", Hungarian foreign minister, Gyula Horn, said on Friday evening on SAT 1.

"So long as Germany remains divided, there can be no unity in Europe, and there can be no 'common European house'", he went on.

"We should help the German people do away with the burdens of the past. Since the present generation had nothing to do with the war and the tragic events related to it, this nation should not be always blamed and forced to feel remorse', the Hungarian foreign minister said.

"I don't believe—and in this, I'm expressing the emotions of my compatriots as well—a united Germany would destabilize Europe. On the contrary, it would create a new situation, opening up vistas for development, which would surely promote and strengthen common European thinking", Mr Horn stressed.

Horn Speaks on Foreign Aid, Soviet Troops

LD1712211989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Studio Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by unidentified correspondent on 17 December, from "The Week" Program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Henning Christophersen, the vice president of the Common Market Brussels Commission, in the middle of the week told journalists that the Hungarian Government, through the Hungarian foreign minister, has perfectly clarified the questions which have so far hindered the granting of the loan of $1,138 million. Does this mean that you found the magic words which removed even the last obstacles from the way? What were the obstacles and what were the magic words?

[Horn] Well, I wish it were the way Christophersen said. The situation was as follows. I outlined the efforts which the Hungarian Government had made in the interest of shaping a realistic budget and economic policy draft. I also outlined the tasks which we have set for the year 1990. But at the same time it was necessary to stress, and moreover with emphasis, what extremely grave social tensions will arise as a result of all we want to undertake. Although the Hungarian Government, or the Hungarian parliament, Hungarian society, is treading a path that has been forced upon it, at the same time we must not allow ourselves to be squeezed too narrowly on this forced path.

At the same time I also stressed that we would like, to the greatest possible extent, to satisfy the demands that are put upon us not only by the European economic communities or the IMF, but by our international partners. In other words, that we should set about the radical transformation of the economy.

[Correspondent] Did you promise on the government's behalf something that up to the moment of the promise has not yet been fulfilled but we hope will be fulfilled?

[Horn] No, there was no question of anything like this. When we talked to the IMF's managing director the previous night, what was said was that in so far as parliament next week adopts the budget, then there will be no obstacle to our concluding an agreement with the IMF in January.

[Correspondent] And then there will be no obstacle for these $1,138 million also being at the disposal of the Hungarian Republic.

[Horn] Precisely.

[Correspondent] But this is a combined package. Does every single element of it depend on the IMF's saying yes? Or are there also some elements which we could receive even if we do not get our budget adopted next week?

[Horn] In so far as it was possible to clarify it, two essential packages depend on the agreement to be made with the IMF. On the one hand, it is this one billion ECUs [European currency units]. On the other hand, the amount intended by the European Investment Bank for the transformation of Hungary's economic structure. This, too, is between $1 billion and $1.5 billion. In addition to this there is a package which is made up of the individual offers of the member states for the most varied objectives: from manager training to environmental protection investments. It includes many things. But what I consider particularly important is that they are planning such a large-scale liberalization for Hungary, for Hungarian goods exchange, for the purpose of promoting economic cooperation, which the country did not have in the former years or decades. Naturally, this last [package] is not closely connected with the IMF. But if the economic situation continues to become more severe here, if we cannot reach agreement with the IMF, this would obviously also have an effect on this whole system of goods exchange reliefs.

[Correspondent] I deduce from your words that you do not yet have precise data as to how great an amount this third package would represent for the country, the one that is in fact independent of the IMF decision. But no doubt you do have some ideas about its size.

[Horn] I cannot say precisely because the Common Market Center in Brussels was given the task of separating the total amount for Poland and Hungary. When they separate all these, plus what they offered us straight, directly, it could amount to a package of some $800-$1,200 million.

[Correspondent] Now beginning tomorrow, Monday, these compulsory steps will hover before parliament's deputies, and a lot of them have made no secret of the fact that they feel themselves to be in a terribly difficult situation. They either vote yes for a budget which will place terrible burdens on the population, and then, as some of them here have put it, they will not dare to go home afterward and stand before the electors. Or they vote against this budget, and then they expose themselves to the danger that later it will be said it was this parliament which pulled the financial rug from beneath the government and the country. How can this dilemma be resolved, in your view?

[Horn] I am fully conscious of these torments, and I have to say that the administration has been suffering and is still suffering exactly these torments. I as foreign minister try to focus my work, my activity, on seeing how it would be possible to ease the tension, mainly in the social sphere. What I have in mind, naturally, is in the framework of foreign support, long-term loans, which would ease the situation. For everything that will come into force from January onward will have very serious social, living-standard, consequences. For this very reason we are striving to bring in supports, for purposes of improving living conditions—things like the modernization of roads, of the telephone system, of welfare, health institutions, long-term loans for financing the construction of dwellings, and so forth and so on. So, we try to approach it from this aspect. But I hardly believe that anyone, be it a government member or a deputy, could leave this forced path. For we have been led into this crisis by the economic, the erroneous economic policy of the past years, decades.

[Correspondent] So, the argument of some deputies, evidently in the first heat of passion, to the effect that there is no real possibility for decision here, because we are all the captives of the IMF, this is only true at first hearing, or at first reading. In actual fact what is at issue here is that we are the captives of the erroneous economic policy decisions of the past 40 years, and the IMF is only asking us to correct these in exchange for assistance.

[Horn] The IMF is not a sentimental organization, that is certain. It conducts just as hard discussions with us as with the other 130 countries, or, for example, with the Solidarity-led Polish Government. It makes no distinctions.

[Correspondent] So it has neither political scruples nor political preferences.

[Horn] It does not have such things. However, one thing is certain. What it formulates as an objective—I do not speak now in concrete terms about how much it wishes to reduce the budget deficit by, but about what it demands as an objective, for example the halting of the deterioration in the economic situation, the starting of substantive changes in industry, the acceleration of privatization, the encouragement of private undertakings with state and other means, and so forth and so on. These things are in the last resort all in harmony with our endeavors, with the endeavor of every person who really wants to see substantive change in the economy by now. So, this is not a renegade alienated system of demands which the IMF is setting. Only they are extremely drastic, these demands which it formulates.

[Correspondent] So these decisions have been left to the moment when we already face a whirlpool, is that not so?

[Horn] Unfortunately, the omissions of years, decades—and this is what hurts me the most—are always paid for by the ordinary people.

[Correspondent] Finally, a completely different question. It can be presumed already from preliminary indications that at the session [of parliament] due to begin tomorrow there will be deputies who stand up and demand the total withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary if possible already in 1990. What answer will the foreign minister be able to give there?

[Horn] Here the endeavors of the deputies and the government coincide. We have been pushing [forszirozzuk] for a long time already for the soonest possible withdrawal of Soviet troops. The other week Miklos Nemeth, the premier, raised this at the discussions he held in Moscow with Ryzhkov.

[Correspondent] What answer did he get?

[Horn] The answer is that the Soviet side is ready on the basis of the earlier agreement to continue the troop withdrawals. Therefore, in 1990 they will withdraw further units...

[Correspondent, interrupting] (?But it wouldn't) accelerate?

[Horn] Well, in principle it includes acceleration, but it makes this dependent on the progress of the Vienna talks. Therefore, our number one effort is to speed up the talks in Vienna—and there is hope for this—and that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary may take place as soon as possible.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much for the information.

Opposition Deputies on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD1512214989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] In the National Assembly, a group of opposition deputies discussed the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the legislature's dissolution. Janos Hollos reports:

[Hollos] To all intents and purposes, the government agrees with the proposal of Deputy Janos Sebok, that is, with the withdrawal as soon as possible of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, said Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry. The debate was only over the fact that the opposition deputies would like this to happen by the end of next year.

The decisive majority of opposition deputies thought that the National Assembly should declare its own dissolution at the present December session, primarily because then there would definitely be elections in March.

Political scientist Mihaly said, in connection with this, that the country could easily lapse into a state of ungovernability after the elections.

Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress Opens

LD1712095489 Budapest MTI in English 0834 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—The 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party opened in Budapest at 9 a.m. on Sunday. The opening speech was delivered by Gyorgy Marosan, 82, wo played a key role in the merger of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties into the Hungarian Working People's Party in 1948, and was one of the founders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in 1956. The congress is aimed at organizing a united Marxist party.

Grosz Addresses Congress

LD1712143589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] wishes to continue operating unchanged as a Marxist party. By numbering its congress today as the 14th it has also accepted all the previous ones. Andras Domany and Miklos Martin-Kovacs report from the venue:

[Correspondent] In the debate which began not long ago Laszlo Udvarhelyi, one of the young leading personalities of the party, emphasized that the MSZMP is being organized from below, at the demand of the membership, and at record speed. He also said that steps must be taken against the attack launched against public property, the plan of ownership reform.

Robert Ribanski, who claims to be presented by the press as much more threatening than he really is, stressed the importance of democracy within the party, that only a party ballot should be able to decide on essential questions in the future.

Earlier the approximately 800 delegates rehabilitated Gyorgy Marosan by annuling the MSZMP Central Committee resolution of 1962 which excluded him from [words indistinct]. He also said he accepted this mandate because he believes he can see in the MSZMP the credibility of Marxism. He warned further that this party has to rely fundamentally on the worker movement. The speaker received a standing ovation.

Karoly Grosz, on behalf of the organizing committee, began his speech by saying that the MSZMP has not ceased, it is still alive and working. To date, some 65,000 have indicated with their signatures, too, that they are members of this party. Karoly Grosz strongly criticized the October congress at which the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] was formed. He said that factional forces destroyed the party and that the main cheerleaders weakened the left wing dangerously giving room to the right wing.

Later he spoke of the fact that they consider an independent MSZP an important force of the left wing, and that they endeavor to have unity instead of fratricide.

He praised the significance of the 1988 MSZMP Congress. He believes that the decisions were correct but the execution proved to be faulty and the party was broken up from within.

After this it was an interesting turn that the speaker proposed that the Central Committee elected in 1985 should now be relieved together with the present preparatory body.

Karoly Grosz, on behalf of the MSZMP, criticized the government of the MSZP which, as he said, is undoubtedly in a difficult situation in their view. Still, it is increasingly the workers who must pay for its mistaken decisions.

He also spoke about the fact that there is a debate within the formulating MSZMP about the evaluation of the 1988 party congress, but that it would be a mistake if they failed to find the common denominator. He stressed that the MSZMP wants to be a Marxist mass party which does not subordinate national interests to internationalism. Regarding leaders there is a need for new faces, new personalities, who will be able to credibly conduct the election struggles of the party.

The congress is chaired by Ervin Szuecs, while Gyorgy Marosan, Janos Berecz, and Frigyes Puja are members of the Presidium.

An unusual phenomenon for party congresses is the big glass purse in the front hall coupled with a request to delegates to contribute their donations to the costs of the congress.

Details of Congress Debate

LD1712192789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We now connect the 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], from where Jozsef Orosz and Andras Domany report.

[Correspondent] The MSZMP is a Marxist political party which professes as its own the progressive historical achievements of the Hungarian people and the lasting values of left-wing social democracy, of the Hungarian as well as the international workers' movement. This definition is proclaimed by the MSZMP's organizational statutes, which were adopted by the congress after prolonged debate and amendments.

Several people very passionately demanded that the statutes should describe the MSZMP as a communist, Marxist-Leninist, internationalist party. Yet, in the end, the view prevailed that it is necessary to be vigorous, not in expressions, but in actions, also that nowadays these adjectives are not necessarily suited to increasing sympathy toward the party.

The question of what the MSZMP's objective is was preceded by prolonged debate, too. In the end the decision was that it is the building of socialism, although there was also a proposal that the party should endeavor to realize communism.

The MSZMP's organizational structure will differ from what it has been up to now. The main role will be played by the basic organizations. Functioning between them and the Central Committee will be delegates' bodies which play a strictly coordinating role, and not the traditional party committees with directing rights.

The 14th Congress of the MSZMP began in the morning at 0900 by immediately calling a closed session. [passage omitted] Karoly Grosz announced, on behalf of the committee which prepared the congress, that the MSZMP exists and functions. It has approximately 100,000 members, but he was unable to give a precise figure. The former party general secretary was of the view that at the October congress of the MSZMP a faction within the party wreaked disorder on the party. According to Karoly Grosz, through this step the path opened for the right-wing forces of restoration. [passage omitted]

At his press briefing, the former party general secretary reaffirmed his party's willingness to enter into alliance with any left-wing movement or force here at home. Replying to the question whether the MSZMP is willing to cooperate with the Romanian Communist Party, Karoly Grosz said the MSZMP, taking the nation's interest into account, wishes to cooperate with every foreign left-wing socialist party. [passage omitted]

At the time of our broadcast, the debate on the organizational statutes is still continuing; then, the party's leading bodies will be elected at a closed session.

Regarding how the MSZMP's role in political life is conceived, one of the members of the preparatory committee, Laszlo Udvarhelyi, said the following:

[Begin Uldvarhelyi recording] My opinion is that in a multi-party system, in a pluralistic structure which is based on a democratic assertion of interests, there is absolutely a place for the representation of salient left-wing interests. With the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] congress, the relevant salient representation of the left-wing ceased, in essence, for a short time—fortunately for a rather short time—in Hungary. With this, I am stating an opinion, not about the MSZP's membership, but about the character of the congress leadership which came about in 1989 since in my view the forces which are predominant in this MSZP leadership are those which decided to attempt a restorationist policy. The task [of the MSZMP] is to epitomize certain interests of the people, workers' interests, and peasants' interests, in a manner which is not undertaken or done consistently by any other political force in this country. [end recording]

Thurmer Elected MSZMP President

LD1812024289 Budapest MTI in English 0202 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—The 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP) [MSZMP] ended its work with the election of the party's office-holders and bodies. Gyula Thurmer was elected HSWP president.

Gyula Thurmer was born in 1953. After graduating from the Moscow Institute of International Relations, he worked in the Foreign Ministry and the HSWP apparatus. In the recent period, he was the foreign policy adviser to General Secretary Karoly Grosz.

After his election, Mr Thurmer told MTI he held it very important that the congress had taken place in the spirit of unity and created the political unity of the party. He termed it as a major task to survey what the HSWP, as an opposition party, could do in the interest of tackling the problems faced by the Hungarian nation. Mr Thurmer holds it important for the party to prepare for the parliamentary elections and find its candidates among the young and middle-aged people who emerged in course of preparations for the congress.

Mr Thurmer urged to launch talks with the fraternal parties, first of all the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party], with which the HSWP strives for cooperation. In the days to come, we will contact the trade union leaders as well. On the basis of the resolution of the congress, we will settle our ranks and start to recruit new members, Mr Thurmer said.

Deputy Minister Interviewed on Defense Cuts

LD1512175989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] We have been able to read in several papers that Hungary needs a small but effective army. Not only did I not understand this otherwise nice sentence, but the thought also occurred that if we now need a small but effective army it means that until now we have had a large and less effective one. This is how Deputy Minister of Defense Ferenc Szombathelyi replied to my worries:

[Begin recording] [Szombathelyi] Taking historical realities into account it is rational to organize an army in such a way as to enable it to carry out its main task: the defense of the country. And if this basic task is clear then we should adjust the modernization, too, to the defense tasks. It is possible, in my view, to create in Hungary today a smaller army which may be maintained at a modern standard in the future.

The army has done much in past decades to be a modern army but could not accomplish it.

[Reporter] I had no means to buy the most modern weapons, which, while incorporating the most modern technologies, are very expensive.

[Szombathelyi] Yes, that is true, too. In the past 15 years some types of weapons have gone up in price 8-15 times. (?In some respects our position has become impossible). The accommodation of soldiers, their social security, and the state of our barracks continue to deteriorate gradually.

Thus the question is whether, taking this into account, we should maintain an army of such a size—according to the announced figures, let us say 106,000 men—and that we continue to be unable to develop. We thought that this road was impossible to follow and therefore we should outline a more modern army in the long run with the same expense or no increase in the expense.

[Reporter] How much smaller?

[Szombathelyi] In addition to the announced 9 percent [reduction], a further 20-25 percent. This means reducing staffing levels, but it also means curbing military technology because there are military technology sections where this reaches 40 percent...

[Reporter, interrupting] The cuts [Leepites]?

[Szombathelyi] Yes. It is related precisely to the statement that we need a defensively featured army. Then we must calculate the large quantity of offensive weapons in such a way that within that we significantly reduce tank stocks, artillery stocks, rockets....

[Reporter, interrupting] Are rockets now offensive as well as a defensive weapons?

[Szombathelyi] Air defense rockets are unambiguously a defensive weapon, but, for example a ground missile—be it in any category, tactical or theater of war category—is fundamentally an offensive one, because if it has a range of 70 km or 100 km then it does not defend its own territory.

The economic difficulties appeared to us in such a way that, in an optimum situation, it would be good if the army is able to spend the money allocated to it for maintenance, that is, people, technology, operations—and 40 percent, at least, for development. In our case development recently dropped below 20 percent or less. Thus, if we are unable to free money from the existing expenditure to be able to develop then we have no chance to create a more modern army.

Here is an example: We have announced the withdrawal of fighter aircraft, too. The annual maintenance of a fighter plane, let us say a MiG-21, is about 10 million forints. So if we withdraw 10 of them, then 10 times 10 million begins to mean something. And we can use that sum to pay a bit more for the men and for modern tools. A more modern army is then not utopia.

[Reporter] If it depended on you, unambiguously, on which type of weapons you would spend immediately because there is a shortage even now?

[Szombathelyi] If it depended on me, my conviction is that the air defense system should be further perfected by means of greater finance and personnel allocations. Because the geographic region in which we live limits our thinking in military geography terms, too. Air defense countinues to be very important. This does not exclude my putting into second place the tools which ensure military operations, that is, communications systems, and the arsenal needed to defend the land. I have in mind here antitank guns and other tools. [end recording]

Bajnok on Karpati Reserve List Request

LD1712182989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Interview with government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok by correspondent Gabor Bankuti—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bankuti] [Passage omitted] I asked spokesman Zsolt Bajnok about the details of the government session. [passage omitted] It came up that personnel proposals were also being adopted.

[Bajnok] The government has appointed Dr Elemer Kiss chairman of the Office of the Council of Ministers, with effect from 20 December.

Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense, has addressed a letter to the provisional president of the republic, asking him to place him on the reserve staff in accordance with his military rank. In essence this means that every possibility opens up for our having henceforth a civilian defense minister. He resolved to take this step in agreement with the premier, motivated also by the fact that, as we know, the Defense Ministry is to split in two: into a ministry dealing with state administrative, military political tasks, and the Armed Forces themselves.

[Bankuti] Did Gabcikovo-Nagymaros come up in connection with the fact that at Gabcikovo yesterday Czech and Slovak citizens demonstrated against it?

[Bajnok] Regardless of that, Laszlo Udvari also briefed the Council of Ministers about the technical accident that occurred on 2 December. It was an interim briefing, because the Czechoslovak organs are themselves still examining it. But in connection with the briefing, I would quote the Council of Ministers' resolution that with immediate effect the government is withdrawing from the sphere of competence of the Environmental Protection Ministry the administrative competences connected with the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water dam system. It is entrusting Government Commissioner Laszlo Udvari with exercising the full scope of these spheres of competence.

[Bankuti] We heard that a decision was also reached about the reorganization of the Interior Ministry.

[Bajnok] A very important element of the decision is that the administrative activity and the activity of the service of direct implementation should separate from one another. Connected with this is also the decision for the reorganization of the border guard. In essence what is at issue here is that by 1995 the border guard tasks will gradually be taken over by a professional staff. Beginning next March already this will happen in the Gyor region, along the Danube border section, and afterwards gradually along the Czechoslovak, the Austrian, Yugoslav, then the Soviet and the Romanian border sections as well.

5 Parties, Organizations Form Alliance

LD1512175889 Budapest MTI in English 1552 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 15 (MTI)—An alliance was formed on Friday by five parties and organizations.

A statement issued by the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian Independence Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Federation of Political Prisoners, said they had realized that alliance was the sole way of acting responsibly to improve the country's position.

Speaking to journalists on Friday, Gyula Kovar, member of the Executive Committee of the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, pointed out they would collate their tactics and strategy by the time of the elections.

They have pledged not to obstruct each other's party-organizing work or election preparations. And in the second round of the elections, they will support their joint candidate with all means at their disposal.

SZOT Leader Outlines 3 Demands on Government

LD1612185889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT], has sharply criticized the government at the founding session of the Trade Union of Transportation Workers. Janos Hollos reports:

[Hollos] The congress commmenced with what has become the usual flood of complaints and demands. The confidence of the membership has been shaken; enough of promises; I could list the familiar words—concrete measures, wage hikes, wage bargaining, age allowances, tax reductions, and so on.

After this introduction, SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy, asked for and was given permission to speak. He said the following: This trade union does not know what to make of a government which changes its stance twice within 3 days. This is beyond a joke. The trade union movement can only undertake the economic program for 1990 if three fundamental conditions are fulfilled. First, there should be programs and measures for dealing with employment difficulties. Second, complete wage liberalization. Third, ownership reform.

Earlier it seemed that there would be an agreement on all three, however two conditions have once again become uncertain.

After this, Sandor Nagy declared that if at the legislative session which is starting next week the aforementioned three conditions were not fulfilled, then the trade unions would not accept either the program or the budget. They would reject the whole thing, together with all its ramifications, and would make an appearance and exert pressure with their own means. In connection with this, Sandor Nagy noted, the 1-hour strike of train drivers, planned for the 20th, and the strikes initiated by bus drivers, and many other things, show that the cup is full to the brim. Despite this, steps which cross each other should be avoided, for it is not excluded that if they reject our most fundamental general problems and demands, more serious steps must be taken.

Interior Ministry Party Bodies Dissolved

LD1612112289 Budapest MTI in English 1046 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 15 (MTI)—In keeping with the Party law, all party bodies and branch organizations have now ceased operation at the Ministry of the Interior.

The Executive Committee in charge of winding up Party activity within the ministry completed its task and dissolved itself on December 12, 1989.

Grosz Interviewed on Career, Party Errors

LD1612142!89 Budapest MTI in English 1058 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, December 15 (MTI)—'The October congress of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party/MSZMP] was a well-organized coup about which I got information one month before. I also knew that the roles had been distributed well in advance. The coup was aimed at ousting me, the last left-wing member, from the leadership,' says Karoly Grosz in an interview carried by the latest issue of the Polish weekly "PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY".

Mr Grosz said his gravest political mistake was preventing the party rift last February: 'I got some key positions wrong, especially putting Miklos Nemeth in the post of prime minister'.

Still on the subject of Mr Nemeth, Mr Grosz said, 'having professional qualifications isn't enough—you have to consider the human character as well.'

Not concealing his antipathy towards the current prime minister, Mr Grosz alleged that the difference between himself as prime minister and Mr Nemeth was that the latter knew the exact details of Hungary's debts from 1982 on.

According to Mr Grosz, the party was destroyed by its own leadership. He does not consider the published membership statistics of the Hungarian Socialist Party as correct. In his view, the HSWP has more in the order of 150,000-160,000 members.

Mr Grosz said he did not regard himself as a defeated politician.

He insists that 1956 started as a popular uprising but became a counter-revolution. He added that although Imre Nagy's execution was a serious crime, Nagy was not faultless or guiltless. It becomes clear in the interview that Karoly Grosz is a very popular Hungarian politician.

Mr Grosz told the paper he received a blank cheque from a U.S. businessmen to represent his European interests, but he refused it.

Iron Workers Union Congress Opens

LD0212214889 Budapest MTI in English 1809 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian Union of Iron, Metal and Electricity Workers, the largest Hungarian trade union with a membership of 600,000, opened its two-day congress on Saturday. The agenda includes the renewal of trade union work and the formation of a federation. The session was attended by Matyas Szuros, interim president of the republic and heads of the related ministries, representatives of invited political parties and delegations of foreign counterpart organizations.

In his report, General Secretary Laszlo Paszternak, pledged support to the reform endeavours and at the same time, called for greater accord between political and economic measures. He called for a reform of ownership forms which excludes the irresponsible selling out of the national assets and state property. He calls it outrageous that while some people are getting irritatingly rich, millions live in poverty.

The report also touched upon the threat of the ever-widening unemployment. The government plan to cut machine industry export to socialist countries by a further 1,000 million roubles in 1990 would entail catastrophic existential consequences for 20,000 employees. 'The time has come to press our point,' he said not explaining what he meant, but calling on the government to announce as soon as possible which companies are involved.

Most of the contributions highlighted the need for technical development and the problem of extremley low industrial wages. As one delegate said average salaries were around 7,000 forints. The 106,000 old age pensioners of the industry are also shamefully neglected. Those criticizing the government said that the former share-holders of power have now become its absolute owners and beneficiaries, and the current government represented the interests of elements trying to preserve their power.

On Sunday, the congress is to elect a general secretary and two secretaries, or a president and two vice presidents, out of five candidates.

Walesa, Michnik, Wende Leave for Sakharov Funeral

LD1812111989 Warsaw PAP in English
1018 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 18—Lech Walesa, Adam Michnik and Senator Edward Wende have gone to Moscow to attend Andrey Sakharov's funeral, Walesa's press office in Gdansk told PAP.

Mazowiecki Interviewed by Soviet Weekly

LD0312220889 Warsaw PAP in English
1903 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 3—In an interview published by the newest issue of the "OGONEK" Moscow weekly, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said: "I think that both we and you should succeed. If you do not succeed, we will fail. But if we fail, you will not succeed either."

Asked what one should do to make the Russians and the Poles accept a new type of relations between their countries, Mazowiecki opined that above all lies should be removed from the history.

The "NOVOYE VREMYA" weekly asked Prime Minister Mazowiecki about the outcome of his Moscow talks. In response, Mazowiecki stressed that the sides made some progress in their talks on all the issues of mutual concern. I had the feeling that we did understand each other, he added.

U.S. Secretary Baker's Berlin Visits Viewed

AU1512151389 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 13 Dec 89 p 4

[Ewa Boniecka commentary: "The Red Light"]

[Text] Only a few hours separated U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's visit to West Berlin from his visit to Potsdam in East Berlin, where he had an unprecedented meeting with GDR Premier Hans Modrow. Taken together, the two visits illustrate the scale of change that has taken place in Europe. The visits also illustrate Washington's responsible and realistic position vis-a- vis the "German question."

As the first U.S. head diplomat to visit the GDR, and given the choice of Potsdam as the venue—the venue of the historic post-World War II conference where the three great powers de facto delineated the postwar borders of Europe—Baker thereby underscored the importance of Washington's relations with the two German states. He underscored the binding political reality and thus distanced it from the plans and debates in West Germany on the unification of Germany.

There are no coincidences in politics, and the choice of this particular place for the Baker-Modrow meeting switches on the red warning light for all those politicians who would like to detach words and plans from European realities, and, what is more, from current U.S. and Soviet policies toward each other and Europe, and from the interests of all the countries of the European continent. In his West Berlin speech, Baker not only reiterated Washington's cautious approach to the idea of German unification by underscoring the rights and obligations of the great powers from the World War II period vis-a-vis the German question, but he also advanced new "guarantees."

The proposed development of close, almost institutional links between the United States and the Western European Community would give the Americans an additional and formal voice in the shaping of a future "new Europe"—a Europe that would be "joint and free," and where East and West could cooperate with one another through the rapidly transforming political-diplomatic instruments of the existing alliances. It would be a Europe in which NATO and the EEC would delineate the extent of the FRG's aspirations, and the existence of the Warsaw Pact would be a factor contributing to stability in the sea of changes happening in Europe. The Baker visits are an emphatic synthesis of facts and words which map out U.S. policy toward Germany—its present-day policy and its policy in the future. As for the rest, only time and history will ultimately tell.

Mazowiecki Receives Council of Europe Official

LD0612151689 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1105 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received Anders Bjorck, chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, who is staying in Poland at the invitation of the Polish Parliament.

The development of cooperation between Poland and member countries of the Council of Europe was the subject of a meeting between Anders Bjorck and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. [passage omitted]

Further on Meeting

LD0612235989 Warsaw PAP in English
2117 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 6—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki today received the president of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, Anders Bjoerck who is in Poland at the invitation of the Polish parliament.

The talks focused on Poland's role in the Council of Europe as well as the impact of this European organization on development of the situation in Poland.

Bjoerck stated that the Council of Europe notices the changes taking place in Eastern Europe as well as the fact that the most lasting results of this evolution are visible in Poland. Bjoerck stressed that the Council of Europe has the best will to grant Poland and Hungary full-rights member status.

This matter as well as that of cooperation between Poland and the Council of Europe were also discussed by Bjoerck and Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Balcerowicz Gives Economic Stabilization Program

LD1112042889 Warsaw PAP in English 1953 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 9—Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz today met deputies—members of the Sejm committee for economic policy, budget and finance to spell out the main ideas of the government's stabilization programme.

The programme comes as a result of four premises, which act as a beacon for Prime Minister Mazowiecki's government.

The first one is the unwillingness to live with inflation.

The second is the conviction that Poland can radically reduce inflation only by taking radical steps.

The third and the fourth premises are a tough finance and monetary and credit policy and a tough wage policy.

Balcerowicz opined that the implementation of those intentions requires strong nerves from the Poles. True, society is prepared to live through difficult times, but it is afraid of the unknown ahead of it. Therefore, the presentation of the programme and a clear-cut defining of the social gains and losses assume such a great importance.

Interviewed on Program

AU1812104989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Dec 89 pp 1,3

[Interview with Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz by Piotr Aleksandrowicz; date and place not given: "A Race Against Time"]

[Text] [Aleksandrowicz] The latest issue of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC claims that the government is not making any effort to convince people about the justification for the harsh economic program. What is more, people still do not know what is in store for them early next year.

[Balcerowicz] The program's outline and basic features were presented last October. However, because in our work we have been racing against time, there might not have been enough time to present the program more exhaustively.

As you know, successive draft laws are being placed before the Sejm. Talks with the IMF are drawing to a conclusion; their results are important for the budget. The draft budget will reach the Sejm in mid-December. All draft legislation will be presented to society. We realize that an understanding and acceptance of the contents of the program are essential for the success of the entire economic undertaking.

[Aleksandrowicz] Does that mean 1 January will be a breakthrough?

[Balcerowicz] Delaying the economic program any longer would cause major consequences. Our emergence from the high inflation would also be delayed. And without reducing inflation, it is impossible to solve other economic problems, like improving management efficiency and making changes to ownership.

The program we are presenting may gain broad foreign support, that is why it combines institutional changes with a combating of inflation and economic stabilization measures, Foreign support permits the attainment of these objectives.

[Aleksandrowicz] But will this occur on 1 January?

[Balcerowicz] This is not a magic date, but we will begin a fundamental phase of the economic stabilization process then.

[Aleksandrowicz] The parliament will only have a few days in which to discuss such a powerful package of legislation. Enterprise managers will not even have 1 week in which to prepare themselves for the economic revolution.

[Balcerowicz] I said that all the draft legislation will soon be published. In close cooperation with the parliament, the government wants to complete the legislation process as quickly as possible.

[Aleksandrowicz] But there are loud complaints about excessive haste.

[Balcerowicz] I think that in our economic situation, it is better to implement an imperfect decision punctually, than to implement a perfect decision too late.

[Aleksandrowicz] But other governments were also late, and each one used the same arguments.

[Balcerowicz] Yes, but this time the situation is completely different. The extent of ambitions and transformations is dramatically greater. We ask parliament to understand the extraordinary nature of the situation and undertake intensive work.

[Aleksandrowicz] Successive groups are dissociating themselves from the economic program. The peasant parties are criticizing agricultural policy, the Democratic Party is criticizing tax policy, the Polish United Workers Party is criticizing privatization, and others are claiming that this program has no support from any major political force.

[Balcerowicz] We are counting on parliament's approval. I trust everyone will understand the supreme interests of the country, and that this understanding will make people restrict their demands.

Some of the people criticizing the program want the budget deficit to be maintained. They are either concerned about preserving their tax privileges or receiving more money. They should realize that by preventing a balancing of the budget, they are helping to boost inflation, whether they want to or not.

[Aleksandrowicz] Nevertheless, according to present information, the program actually envisages a rise in inflation for the first few months.

[Balcerowicz] When preparing the program, we had to answer a few basic questions. The first one was, do we want a program that permits inflation. The answer was no. The second question was, what kind of economic activity. The answer was rapid activity, concentrated in time. I have never heard of a slow emergence from high inflation. The third question was, how to emerge from the high inflation quickly. The only way to rapidly reduce inflation is to curb spending, for it is impossible to restrict the supply of goods in a short space of time.

[Aleksandrowicz] But that does not answer my question why an anti-inflation program should envisage inflation in its early stage.

[Balcerowicz] A curb on spending consists of several elements. First, it is necessary to balance the budget, and that requires harsh cuts in budget expenditure, including subsidies. Credits must be made harder to come by and more expensive to repay, or else the difference between credits and subsidies becomes blurred. Third, such an operation should stabilize the prices of those commodities that affect the prices of other goods.

This applies especially to coal and energy, and also the price of foreign currency. The problem is that the prices of coal and energy and currency exchange rates are lower than they should be. Therefore, initially, they have to be increased to such a level that will guarantee no further increases in the next few months, thanks to which other prices will not rise as quickly as they have been doing.

Therefore it will be necessary to increase the prices of coal and energy several times at the very beginning of the operation. A paradox emerges. In the first phase of implementing the entire program, it will be necessary to preserve a so-called adjustment inflation, so that inflation in subsequent months can be halted. At the same time, it is necessary to pursue a harsh budgetary and financial-credits policy, in other words restrict the flow of inflation-boosting money.

[Aleksandrowicz] You have spoken about the price of coal, but everyone is also interested in the price of the convertible zloty.

[Balcerowicz] I can only say that it will be lower than many people are expecting it to be, but it will be higher than some people think it will be.

[Aleksandrowicz] We have not talked about wages, one of the three fields where changes and then stabilization has to take place.

[Balcerowicz] One of the conditions for the success of the stabilization program is that after the first adjustment in January, nominal wages should stabilize for the next few months. Thus, for a certain period the increase in nominal wages must be strongly blocked.

[Aleksandrowicz] A program of liberalizing the economy—one which at the same time postulates a brake on wages and no freedom in fixing their level, is not compatible.

[Balcerowicz] It is an essential element in the whole anti-inflation operation. The block on wage rises will lessen the costs involved of this operation. If we allowed a freedom to fix wages, many enterprises would raise these so high that after a certain time and given the conditions of hard fiscal, financial, and budgetary policies, the enterprises would rapidly become insolvent. This would mean that the social costs of insolvencies, the resulting unemployment, and the fall in production would be greater than were we—during the anti-inflationary operation—to use the alternative of freezing wage rises. Thus, the factor of trying to keep the social costs of the transformations to a minimum, inclines us to use the wage brake.

[Aleksandrowicz] I understand that this wages brake will not be a long-term solution.

[Balcerowicz] After the economy stabilizes, no doubt the principles behind the wages policy will be different. As to when this happens, depends on the level of inflation, and the rate of its reduction.

[Aleksandrowicz] Wages are only part of the total income of the people. The other means of income must also be limited, is this not so?

[Balcerowicz] These are linked by a system of automatic relation with wages in the sphere of material production. If wages there are also limited then the income of the budgetary sphere will also be limited.

[Aleksandrowicz] Many economists are pointing out that monetary control will be difficult if the enterprises carry on by giving themselves credit. Is this possible?

[Balcerowicz] Yes, and that is the reason why we are taking steps so that each supplier will be motivated to collect debts due to him, and giving him the essential legal means so that he is able to do so. The law on insolvency will have to be radically changed. If suppliers currently allow large debts to remain outstanding as between themselves then it means that in essence they do not feel threatened by insolvency, or bankruptcy. This state of affairs will change very soon.

[Aleksandrowicz] Is "tighten your belts" all you have to say to the people?

[Balcerowicz] Everyone must answer the following question for himself: When will I achieve a greater living standard? Is it by living with high inflation in a situation of deepening chaos, or is it by agreeing to a period of burdens which will then permit us to live in a country having a stable and normal economy?

We are not trying to hide the fact that we have several very tough months ahead of us all. These months will decide the success, or failure of the whole operation, and by this, the future of our economy.

It will not, however, be the case that people will be left to fend for themselves in difficult moments. The Ministry of Labor and Social Policy is creating a system of social care and help. There will be social safety-nets for those people who lose, or change their employment. A similar system will be in operation in relation to some of the enterprises which find themselves in financial difficulties, but who in essence are viable, or have hopes of becoming viable.

Finally, we are counting on foreign aid, especially in the shape of means of agricultural production, which will contribute to stabilizing that most important of all markets, namely, the food market.

We are also counting on the mutual assistance, the great feelings of solidarity of those people who think about a better tomorrow for themselves, their families, and their country.

[Aleksandrowicz] We began with TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, and to close, it may be worth noting that in the same edition Lech Walesa is quoted as saying: Balcerowicz and his advisers have some good ideas.

[Balcerowicz] As you see, it is not a case where nobody appreciates the government's economic program....

Briefs Sejm

LD1712132289 Warsaw PAP in English
1219 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 17—Briefing the Sejm on the intentions of draft laws which are aimed at bringing about breakthrough changes in the Polish economy, Vice Premier Leszek Balcerowicz stated that the Polish economy was sick and that an operation to remove devastating inflation was called for.

Stabilizing action, taken quickly and in a concerted manner, must get top priority, Balcerowicz told the Sejm, adding: The program of struggle against inflation is difficult for society. It is associated with an inevitable surge in prices at the beginning of the year and a fall in living standards. There is, however, no other way out.

The line adopted by the government is expressed in the tabled bills. Discussing some of them, the vice premier pointed to the following elements:

—Balancing the budget, while halving (down to 14 percent of overall expenditures) budget subsidies, limiting central investments, ceasing to subsidize socio-political organizations and efficient execution of taxes.

—Changing the tax system by reducing tax breaks, expanding turnover tax for exports and imports.

—Blocking wages increases so that the population's money resources not exceed the value of offered commodities and services. This stalling will only be transitional.

Further on Sejm Briefing

LD1712141989 Warsaw PAP in English
1255 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 17—Continuing his address [at the Sejm session on 17 December] Balcerowicz presented the government's plans to transform property structures in the economy.

He told the Sejm that privatizing state assets through the public sale of shares in enterprises, with preference given to employees, was of key importance. A uniform of hard currency exchange rate and the internal convertibility of the zloty are to back the systemic changes. The exchange rate will be shaped in such a way as to help speedily curb inflation. A stabilization fund of 1 billion dollars will be an additional guarantee.

The vice premier dwelt in some detail on the adjustment program and foreign assistance which is conditional upon this program. "We are aware of the unrepeatability of the program and its pitfalls but we are also fully convinced about the reality of the task and its social correctness." Balcerowicz told the Sejm.

Sejm Economic Session 17 Dec Opening Reported

LD1712112389 Warsaw PAP in English
1108 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 17—The Sejm started its several-day meeting today to discuss economic issues, the economic policy of the government and resulting draft laws, including the budget for 1990.

Opening the meeting, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz announced that a meeting between leaders of both chambers of the Parliament and the government will be held in the coming days to set the course of legislative work on issues to be discussed in the Sejm in the next three or four days.

The Sejm meeting continues with a statement by Vice Premier Leszek Balcerowicz, who presents a government report on economic policy in 1990.

Sejm National Defense Commission Meeting Reported

AU0212155289 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI
in Polish 29 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Lieutenant-Colonel Andrzej Medykowski report: "Problems of Education and Civil Defense"]

[Excerpts] The 28 November meeting of the Sejm National Defense Commission in Warsaw concentrated on two main problems: civil defense and education. The latter subject aroused a great deal of emotion and caused a debate that was rich in polemics.

General of Arms Jerzy Skalski, vice minister of national defense and chief inspector of territorial defense, presented the general principles behind the functioning of civil defense against a broad historical background (universal civil defense in Poland is 68 years old). He said that the fading likelihood of a nuclear conflict does not reduce the need for civil defense because the environment is in danger from, among other things, 150 nuclear power stations and over 300 reactors located not far from Poland's borders.

This requires the maintenance of a suitable civil defense potential. About 2 million people are involved in civil defense. Financial and material difficulties are its chief problems. A separate problem is knowledge of civil defense, which is often inadequate. General Skalski presented a program of action aimed at improving civil defense to a level that permits us, in our difficult economic circumstances, to protect the population, the infrastructure, industry, and cultural monuments against the ravages of civilization and armed conflicts. [passage omitted]

General of Arms Tadeusz Szacilo, head of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army, announced that the administration would shortly be renamed the Main Educational Board. This caused an emotional debate.

General Szacilo stressed that the changes taking place in the country are also reflected in the Army. The general purpose of educational work is to turn soldiers into citizens who possess a suitable level of knowledge and suitable professional abilities. Apart from the family and school, the Army plays a major educational role, something which society highly appreciates. We will consolidate this trend, he said.

Soon, General Szacilo continued, the Army party-political apparatus to date will be converted into a corps of education officers. Party structures will be separated from educational structures, the full-time party apparatus in the Army will be disbanded, and party cells will cease to function. The final solution will depend on legislation. [passage omitted]

The final note to the commission's meeting was delivered by Sejm Deputy Tadeusz Bien, who said that our ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI has recently become a paper which he finds a pleasure to read.

Kuron Hospitalized After Heart Attack

LD1512141689 Warsaw PAP in English 1319 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw. Dec 15: "I feel well" Jacek Kuron, minister of Labour and Social Policy, told the reporters of the GAZETA WYBORCZA daily in hospital where he had been taken after the recent examination of his lungs when doctors found out that he had had a light heart attack.

The minister said that his health condition did not arouse concern and pledged to return to work soon after Christmas.

Mazowiecki Meets With OPZZ Leaders

LD1512202189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met with representatives of the leadership of the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] together with Alfred Miodowicz. The meeting had an informational character and was an introductory exchange of views on the guidelines for socioeconomic policy for the coming year. The government conveyed to the OPZZ the basic documents on this matter. The OPZZ and the government feel that the struggle against inflation is currently the main task of economic policy. The OPZZ stated that implementation of the government's program will bring a fall in production and a lowering of living standards. The representatives of the government presented their plans for countering these phenomena. The OPZZ stated that the union movement will discuss the government's socioeconomic policy guidelines at the meeting of the OPZZ Council next Tuesday [19 December], to which representatives of the government have been invited. Tomorrow, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki plans to meet with representatives of Solidarity's National Executive Commission.

Council of Ministers Discusses Prison Riots

LD1112222789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers met to discuss the state of security and public order. This concerns both the recent wave of prison riots, which was discussed by minister Alexander Bentkowski, as well as the growing threat of common crimes. An investigation into the prison riots is in progress. The circumstances of their break out are being investigated.

In Czarne, results of the postmortem of six fatalities have been published. In four cases death occurred following a lynching, and in two cases death resulted from gunshot wounds. The identity of the three missing prisoners is being established. In Goleniow, the circumstances of the death of a prisoner whose burned body was found in one of the cells have not yet been established.

Mazowiecki Meets Peasant Party Leadership

LD0212002589 Warsaw PAP in English 2135 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki met here today with Jozef Zych who is chairman of the main council of the Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth" and heads the party's parliamentary floor group, and with chairman of the party Kazimierz Olesiak.

The talk focused on the problems of the countryside, agriculture and cooperation of the coalition. The premier also spoke about the course of his recent official visit to the Soviet Union.

Peasant Parties Congress Begins in Warsaw

LD1112052789 Warsaw PAP in English 2120 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 9—The national congress of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and the Polish Peasant Party-Solidarity (PSL—Solidarity) was held here today with a view to discussing amended draft documents of a federation of peasant parties, namely an ideological declaration, programmatic assumptions and a statute.

The aim of the federation is to unite peasant parties and organizations which strive for an independent Polish republic, the declaration said. The federation recognizes the right of various groupings of the PSL and the PSL-Solidarity for their own identity and constitutes a plane of cooperation for them.

New Polish Socialist Labor Party Explains Aims

LD0212133989 Warsaw PAP in English 1949 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1—The Polish Socialist Party of Labour (PSPP), set up on October 12, strives to spread and observe the principle "the quality of life will be determined by the quality of work," it was said today during a press conference organized here by founders of the party.

The PSPP comes out for socializing enfranchisement and it aims to set up the 4th Polish republic of enfranchised working people. The PSPP wants to form a centre-left government because the broadest social basis for this exists. The basis is made up primarily of people earning their livelihood by their own work.

The PSPP now has about 1,000 members, out of whom two-thirds are not former PUWP members. Chairman of the PSPP National Committee Mieczyslaw Krajewski told reporters about sending an open letter to Chairman of the Socialist International Willy Brandt on drawing up a socialist manifesto. It could replace the Communist Manifesto that became out of date in the PSPP opinion.

Report on PZPR Politburo 5 Dec Session

AU1512114689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "PZPR Central Committee Politburo Meeting"]

[Text] On 5 December, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo acquainted itself with issues concerning party cooperation with self-management bodies. It was stressed that the attitude toward employee self-management will remain one of the key elements of the left's identity. This idea is clearly present in preparations for the congress and will undoubtedly be strongly affirmed in the new party's program.

The work force self-management right to decide about all forms of change pertaining to state property is an inviolable principle and achievement of Polish reformist groups. The right of employees to continue to participate in making decisions about how to use new forms of property has to be guaranteed.

Legal solutions geared toward this should be supported by all progressive forces, especially by the PZPR Deputies Club in legislative work on a new economic and property regulations.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, briefed the Politburo on the Moscow meeting of the heads of the Warsaw Pact member states, which he attended as a member of the Polish delegation.

The Politburo highly appraised the results of the meeting between M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and G. Bush, President of the United States. There has been an improvement in prospects for lasting peaceful relations and new opportunities for cooperation in a changing Europe. The policies of all progressive forces, including the party of the Polish left, have to be adjusted accordingly. The Politburo welcomed the joint statement that was adopted by the leaders of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Hungary, and the USSR on the intervention of these forces in Czechoslovakia in 1968; the statement being passed in accordance with the assessments made by the presidium of the Central Committee Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and CSSR Government.

The Politburo listened to a report delivered by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, on the talks that he held with leaders of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Politburo acquainted itself with observations and views stemming from the first stage of the debate on the party statute in the lead up to the 11th congress.

PZPR Local Committee Weekly Meeting

AU1512123389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Dec 89 p 5

[Wojciech Mazowiecki report: "God's Favorite Political System"]

[Text] Some 30 people came for the weekly meeting held at the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Warsaw Committee center on Bednarska Street. The average age of those who came was about 50 years. The visiting speaker was Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the team preparing the PZPR's new statutes for the upcoming congress of the party.

Why does Poland need a left? We need it above all—said Kwasniewski—so that we can have real pluralism. Apart from that, so that the past and the politically committed professionals can be properly defended.

The PZPR has to close the chapter of defeats, cut back its own losses, and regain the credibility of Polish society. Novelty can come very quickly, unity will follow in a few months, but to regain credibility will take several years. According to Kwasniewski, the PZPR's upcoming congress must produce a blueprint for a congress of the entire Polish left, including "Solidarity's" left wing.

One of those present at the meeting read out the contents of a letter he had written to the United Nations. Perestroyka—he reads—has the divine inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and we now have to marry Catholicism with communism—which is God's favorite political system—and ensure that Gorbachev becomes world premier in God's kingdom. He was stopped from discussing the situation in Poland and the state of the PZPR by hecklers and foot stomping, and after the regulation 10 minutes had elapsed, he was asked to sit down.

There was also the healthy workers element: We have to define whether we are for scientific socialism, or a socialist kaleidoscope and mumblings about socialism. He criticized the sell-out of the country to German capital, and threw down a resounding "they shall not pass" at all the schemes aimed at crushing the workers movement. We Communists will help the workers—he maintained—but right now the "workers' class" is still under the heady influence of the noxious fumes of the Citizens Deputies Club.

Someone warned that the PZPR must not disintegrate into many centers of command a process that had already taken place in "Solidarity." Lock up the comrades as if for a Bishops conclave until they reach agreement. Regarding the party's name, it is not important what is on the bottle, but what is inside—he concluded.

The current situation in the party was described as teeming with contradictions among the very few interested people. The rank and file remain passive and wait for the results of the PZPR congress, and above all, the results of the government's policies.

We should take advantage of the disaffection among the population and the mistakes made by the Citizens Deputies Club, and make them propaganda points before the congress—it was suggested. A lot has been accomplished in the last 40 years. Not everything has worked out, but look at Brazil and Turkey, not everything has worked out there, either. The PZPR is full of defeatism and abject repentance, and this was the surest way to lose everything.

It was unanimously regretted that fiery spontaneity lowered the level of the discussions. The chairman frequently called on members to respect parliamentary behavior during the discussions. The advocate of God's kingdom on earth vociferously encouraged others to have a say, and whenever the discussion flagged he showed himself more than willing to step in and finish off the thread of argument.

At the present moment the situation of the PZPR is schizophrenic—summed up Kwasniewski—it seems that we are the center of things, but in essence we are already on the outside. The alternative is not a government of the left, but a government that is radically rightist, or even totalitarian.

Asked about the changes to the PZPR statutes, Kwasniewski briefed the meeting that it had been decided to break with the principles of democratic centralism, proletarian internationalism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The responsibility for and the burden of decision would now rest on collegiate bodies, and not on the leader, as had been the case hitherto.

According to Kwasniewski, the discussion within the party is extremely poor. It oscillated between the old slogans, calls for blood, and frustration. The discussion is not producing a shape of a party which could possibly have any kind of political viability.

I am an easy going person and I feel relaxed even at such a meeting—concluded Kwasniewski—but the composition of this gathering frightens me. Lack of young blood means biological death for the PZPR, and not just its political demise.

PZPR Spokesman on Congress Preparations

LD1412221689 Warsaw PAP in English
2044 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 14—A press conference of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] spokesman Jan Bisztyga and representatives of the "July 8 Movement" was held here today. Polish and foreign journalists were briefed on the state of preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress.

The PUWP CC press spokesman said that over 52 percent of PUWP members had taken part in elections of candidates for delegates to the congress or delegates themselves. Preliminary estimates show that about 60 percent of candidates for delegates to the PUWP congress were people under 40 years of age.

Bisztyga stressed that the acceptance of the political platform of the 16th plenum prevailed. Besides, unity trend persists among PUWP rank and file members but they primarily make profound reconsiderations leading to shaping a new image of the PUWP as a broad representation of social left-wing.

Next, representatives of the "July 8 Movement" spoke to agree in principle with an assertion that important and credible reconsiderations had to be made in the PUWP.

They think that the PUWP must give up discredited patterns and profoundly change itself toward democratic socialism close to West European social-democracy.

Representatives of the "July 8 Movement" stressed that they did not deem unity in the PUWP a supreme question in relation to its programme and future shape. They do not rule out the possibility of a split or setting up new parties unless the congress works out such a programme and appoints such a party leadership that would guarantee the direction of changes satisfying the requirements of time and needs of broadly conceived social left-wing.

Demonstrations Reported in Timisoara, Arad

Hungarian TV on Timisoara Clashes

LD1712202189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Anna Juranyi, our correspondent in Szeged, has just contacted Newsreel. She feels that what she has to say is very important. Please, the floor is yours, Anna:

[Juranyi] A young person, who did not want to make his name public, and who came home to Szeged this evening from Timisoara, gave an account of dramatic events. Together with his hosts in Timisoara, he reportedly witnessed, at 0200 in the morning, that after an attempt to evict [Presbyterian minister] Laszlo Toekes from his house, all hell broke loose. A human chain turned into a several-thousand-strong crowd of demonstrators. People thronging the streets shouted: "Liberty" and "Down with Ceausescu." Those who marched toward the Party Committee headquarters set fire to cars, smashed in shop windows, burned up Ceausescu books, and smashed Ceausescu pictures into bits. There were clashes with the police, who, with protective shields and truncheons had curbed the passion of the crowds by 0400 in the morning. Our witness saw young people who had been beaten until they were covered with blood and heard of several who had been arrested.

The demonstrations supposedly continued this morning in smaller groups in the streets of Timisoara. Ceausescu pictures were floating on the water of the (?Benga) canal. However, there is no news of Laszlo Toekes.

[Announcer] Just one thing, Anna. It is most certain that the official news agency, AGERPRES, will not release these reports. What evidence, even if it is indirect, is there about the reliability of what has been said?

[Juranyi] The border guards at Nagylak have confirmed the reports of our informant, saying that several travelers from Timisoara have told them about these dramatic events. By the way, Hungarian travelers have not been allowed into Romania since the morning. Since midday, not one car has been able to cross the border. Freight traffic is also being slowed down; thus, 150 trucks are being held up at the border crossing.

Demonstrators Prevent Toekes Deportation

AU1812100489 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 18 Dec 89 p 14

[Istavn Kovacs report: "Romanians: Rise Up, Wake Up..."]

[Text] The thermometer measured 20 degrees below zero in the Romanian town of Timisoara, the capital of the Banat region. Freezing but self-confident, approximately 500 people were standing in front of one of the town's reformed churches to protect their Presbyterian minister against the police. The opposition minister Laszlo Toekes has been hiding in the sacristy since mid-October. At the beginning of November, four masked men succeeded in entering the sacristy and attempted to stab him in front of his family. However, Toekes survived. On Saturday [16 December], his forced deportation ordered by authorities to a village inhabited by 150 people and located in northeastern Transylvania was to have taken place.

When Toekes opened the windows, which have repeatedly been broken by unknown persons, he was greeted with applause. "Laszlo, Laszlo," people chanted and passed food and wood for heating through the windows. Until early afternoon, it was mostly members of the Hungarian minority, whose rights Toekes repeatedly advocated in public in the past, who gathered in front of the church. Later in the evening, increasing numbers of Romanians and supporters of the Orthodox Church arrived as well. People were taking turns demonstrating in front of the church. Nobody could stay very long because of the extreme cold. A total of over 4,000 people were rallying in front of the church by midnight. This is the first time that a protest against the Ceausescu regime spread beyond ethnic and religious communities.

Policemen who arrived were first insulted and then the demonstrators chanted: "Go away. Go away!" As a result, uniformed policemen withdrew and were replaced by plainclothes policemen. As time passed, the demonstrators grew increasingly self-confident. When night fell, candles were lit, and the demonstrators began chanting: "Romanians: rise up, wake up..."

Toekes repeatedly appeared at the window. The demonstrators called for his blessing and a mass in the open street. The minister rejected this in order not to provoke the authorities further. "Toekes, help us to remain fearless," they chanted. The husky man has remained fearless. When the church was closed several weeks ago by the police, he left the building every day to walk arm in arm with believers past the barriers. He even drove away the attackers who had injured him at the beginning of November. "My church is a castle, and the castle is under siege," he stated 5 weeks ago on a tape smuggled out of the country. "It is the castle of Timisoara. Perhaps it must fall. However, if it does not fall, it may be a signal, a signal for upright Romanians."

TANJUG on 'Fierce' Timisoara Clashes

LD1812001589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2322 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Timisoara, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—Today in Timisoara, demonstrations resulted in fierce clashes between police and demonstrators. Slogans against the Romanian leadership were chanted, shop windows were broken, and, according to some reports, the police used water cannons and firearms.

It has been learned unofficially that the immediate cause for the unrest in Timisoara was a court decision to evict Presbyterian minister Lazslo Toekes from his apartment.

This decision was to be enforced today. Witnesses of the events in Timisoara say that Toekes, who has been known for some time as the champion of the rights of the minorities and of Hungarian minority, in particular, today conducted a service after which approximately 5,000 believers set off marching towards the center of the town chanting slogans against the Romanian president. On the way, they were confronted by the police.

The Romanian public has not been informed about the events in Timisoara. The only indication that something has been happening is a piece of information broadcast by Radio Bucharest today. In an unusual afternoon slot, the radio broadcast an appeal to citizens to respect law and warned of the danger of interference from the outside in Romania's internal affairs. Several days ago similar information was published by TRIBUNA SIBIULUI, a paper of the Sibiu region where Nicu Ceausescu, son of President Nicolae Ceausescu, is the first party secretary. Few of the observers here have been excited over such articles since they appear every year, before or after the New Year. [passage omitted]

Travelers Report on Demonstrations

AU1812084589 Paris AFP in English 0838 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 18 (AFP)—Romanian troops surrounded the northern town of Timisoara on Monday morning after thousands of protesters battled police over the weekend, travellers returning from Romania told Hungarian radio.

Soldiers with fixed bayonets charged some 5,000 people protesting against the repressive regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu, who has so far resisted the tide of reform sweeping Eastern Europe, according to the reports.

Amphibious vehicles and helicopters were also brought in to quell the demonstration, in protest against moves to exile a dissident presbyterian clergyman, Laszlo Toekes, who supports Romania's beleagured ethnic Hugarian minority, to another part of the country.

Transylvania, home to a sizeable ethnic Hungarian community, has been rocked in recent weeks by a spate of demonstrations against the hardline Stalinist regime.

AFP Reports on Demonstrations

AU1712223789 Paris AFP in English 2212 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 17 (AFP)—Thousands of Romanians have clashed with police during demonstrations against President Nicolae Ceausescu's repressive regime, Hungarian travellers said here Sunday after returning from Romania.

They said fighting had broken out between demonstrators and police in the western town of Timisoara in Transylvania, home to a large ethnic Hungarian minority. It had taken police several hours to regain control, they said.

Hundreds of demonstrators in Timisoara trying to stop the deportation of a dissident minister to another part of Romania were beaten by police, according to a witness who appeared on a Hungarian television report. The witness declined to give his name.

Romania closed its border with Hungary on Sunday morning, Hungarian television said, saying Hungarian border guards at the Nagylak checkpoint had confirmed the report.

Meanwhile in Bonn, the daily Die Welt said thousands of demonstrators in Timisoara had stopped police from deporting the dissident minister, Laszlo Toekes.

The conservative newspaper, in a report appearing Monday, said the demonstrators, who called for an uprising against the hardline communist regime of Mr. Ceausescu, prevented the deportation of Father Toekes, a member of Romania's beleagured ethnic Hungarian minority.

Initially between 300 and 700 demonstrators rallied in front of the town church on Saturday afternoon, where the priest had taken refuge, fearing that police would force him to leave the area and resettle in another part of Romania, Die Welt reported.

When uniformed policemen arrived on the scene, the demonstrators shouted slogans such as "Romanians: rise up, wake up".

They demanded that the police withdraw and leave the minister, who has championed Romania's ethnic Hungarian minority against repression by the regime. He was attacked in church last month by four masked men who stabbed him and left him for dead.

When night fell, the demonstrators—mostly ethnic Hungarians—lit candles, and their ranks were swollen by many sympathizers who were not ethnic Hungarians, the newspaper said.

Before they dispersed peacefully, the demonstrators numbered up to 5,000, according to witnesses quoted by Die Welt.

Die Welt was the first to break news of riots in Brasov, central Romania, two years ago, when workers demonstrated against the iron rule of Mr. Ceausescu, who has so far resisted the tide of reform sweeping Eastern Europe.

In Prague meanwhile, a group of Czechoslovak students staged a mock demonstration of support for the regime in Romania, one of Eastern Europe's last remaining bastions of totalitarian rule, witnesses said.

About 15 students joined a mass demonstration in support of Czechoslovak reform leader Vaclav Havel, the main opposition candidate for president.

The students, sporting red and white berets of the style worn by anti-terrorist and riot police, shouted "Long live Romania" and "Long live Ceausescu". To laughter and applause from the other demonstrators, they then shouted: "Disperse, this demonstration is not authorized".

5,000 Reportedly Demonstrate in Timisoara

LD1712233189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] In Timisoara many thousands have demonstrated and, according to certain eyewitnesses, there are still crowds in the streets. It is not possible to obtain precise information, because it is presumed that the Romanian Army has sealed off the vicinity of Timisoara, and the official Romanian media has so far not said a word about the events. Passengers arriving from Romania in the late afternoon have said that tanks, riot police, and barricaded streets can be seen in the town, and several have even reported shootings.

The demonstrations began last night, when 5,000 people proceeded to the Council House. This morning, the crowd again gathered here and demanded Ceausescu's departure. Security forces used water cannons and tear gas against the demonstrators. They arrested many people; several were seriously injured.

In Budapest, in response to the Timisoara reports, a demonstration began outside the Romanian Embassy late today. Several hundreds of people gathered, with lit candles in their hands. The Zuglo organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum is planning to hold a protest movement in Heores' Square tomorrow.

Authorities Use Tanks in Timisoara

LD1712214189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] The people have started to move in Romania as well. To begin our detailed accounts, here is a report from Timisoara read by my fellow announcer Gabor Mohai:

[Mohai] In Timisoara, many thousands of people have demonstrated and demanded that Nicolae Ceausescu depart from the leadership of Romania. To begin with, the people gathered around the house of Laszlo Toekes in an attempt to prevent his eviction. During the night last night there were already smaller clashes here with the police, who arrested some 20-30 people. Today Laszlo Toekes has managed to hold a religious service. In the morning the enraged crowd, consisting mainly of Romanians, proceeded to the town hall and then to the county council building. They shouted: "Down with Ceausescu!" and they demanded freedom. The authorities sent out military forces armed with bayonets, and they increased the show of strength with tanks and armored vehicles. The protesters broke shop windows and smashed the window of the county council building. The forces of order replied with a water cannon and tear gas, in response to which the irate demonstrators set fire to a fire-engine. An eyewitness observed ambulance vehicles and military helicopters as well, but was unable to give provide further details, because he also had to flee the scene.

Further on Timisoara Demonstration

LD1812123489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Excerpt] We have already reported eyewitness accounts of the demonstration by several thousand people in Timisoara. The county Bekes NEP newspaper gives a detailed account of all this. Eva Cseh reports:

[Begin Cseh recording] At Loekoeshaza, one of the passengers on the train arriving at 2030 yesterday evening, (Kordogana Bauer) from the FRG, said that at about 2200 she had seen around 5,000 people between Maria Street and the Basilica in the center of Timisoara. We do not want the cobbler [Ceausescu], they shouted, until the police, armed with shields and water cannon, intervened.

The most important information, according to her, is that on Sunday between 0200 and 0500 the security service smuggled Laszlo Toekes out of his apartment. His fate is unknown.

I found out from the leader of the Oroshaza border guard district, Lieutenant Colonel Gyorgy Balint, that activity has ended at the border crossing points. Nobody can go in or out. From midnight until 0900 today only one Hungarian citizen out of 77 got through into Romania, at Kotegyan. For example, the 10 Hungarian passengers on the morning Orient Express were also sent back. But the situation is the same at all border crossing points. At Biharkeresztes they did not allow 45 Romanian citizens who had local border crossing permits to cross into our country. Trucks are waiting for about 4 hours at Nagylak and 3 hours at Gyula. [end recording] [passage omitted]

'Scores' Said Injured

AU1812141089 Paris AFP in English 1353 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Vienna, Dec 18 (AFP)—One person was killed in bloody demonstrations in North-Western Romania against the repressive rule of President Nicolae Ceausescu, reliable sources said here Monday.

Either a woman or a child was killed, according to an eye-witness contacted by telephone from here Monday morning. There were no initial reports of other deaths, but scores were reported injured when police charged with fixed bayonets into a crowd of thousands of demonstrators.

The witness said Timisoara, the scene of the biggest demonstration, was quiet on Monday. A curfew was clamped on the nearby town of Arad on Sunday night after the army sealed off the town with armoured vehicles following demonstrations for greater democracy.

Arad Demonstrations Reported

LD1812092889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] In Romania, according to certain reports, the security forces have sealed off Timisoara and Arad. In Timisoara there were severe clashes after several thousand people gathered on the night of 16 December to impede the eviction of Presbyterian minister Laszlo Toekes.

Later, the demonstrators shouted anti-Ceausescu slogans and clashed with security forces. Eyewitnesses saw several injured young people and gave accounts of shootings and arrests. According to a report on Austrian television, there were also demonstrations in Arad over the weekend.

'At Least 1,000' Dead in Timisoara

AU1812163389 Paris AFP in English 1627 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Vatin, Yugoslavia, Dec 18 (AFP)—Anti-government protests over the weekend in the Romanian town of Timisoara left "at least 1,000 people dead and 200 wounded" from gunfire, eyewitnesses said Monday.

The witnesses, two Syrian medical students employed in a Timisoara hospital said that they had counted the dead in the hospital morgue.

"We saw at least 1,000 bodies during Sunday in the morgue," one of the students said adding that they had all been shot.

The students spoke to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE after leaving Romania for Yugoslavia via this border town.

Hungarian Intellectuals Placed Under House Arrest

AU1812084889 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Report by Karl Stipsicz]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Since last Wednesday [13 December], the Securitate secret police have placed numerous Hungarian intellectuals in Cluj, the capital of Transylvania, under house arrest and has cut them off from the outside world. Those arrested include the journalist Lojos Kantor and Mrs Eva Gyimesi. The fact that the border troops were placed under the control of the Interior Ministry last week indicates that the Ceausescu dictatorship expected demonstrations. The move was apparently intended to make the border troops more readily available, along with the secret police and the workers' militia. In the border towns of Arad and Timisoara, people can watch Hungarian and Yugoslav television. Reports on the revolutions in central Europe may have encouraged the demonstrators yesterday.

Yugoslavia Reports Border Closed 17 Dec

AU1812101889 Paris AFP in English 0855 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 18 (AFP)—Yugoslav travellers trying to enter Romania were turned back by Romanian authorities on Sunday at the border post of Vatin, 90 kilometres (50 miles) east of Belgrade, the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI said.

Yugoslavs who witnessed the Timisoara protests confirmed in interviews with the newspaper that fighting had rocked the town and gunfire had been heard. Some 50 Yugoslavs, mostly ethnic Romanians, are studying in Timisoara, the Yugoslav consulate there said.

Ceausescu Departs on Official Visit to Iran

AU1812081889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0719 GMT 18 Dec 89

["News Flash"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/12/1989—On the morning of 18 December, the president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, started an official friendly visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran at the invitation of President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

At 8.30 a.m. the presidential aircraft left Otopeni Airport for Tehran.

Further on Ceausescu Departure

AU1812095089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0905 GMT 18 Dec 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Leaves on a Visit to Tehran"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/12/1989—Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu left on the morning of December 18, for Tehran on an official visit of friendship to Iran as guest of President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Romania's president was seen off at the Otopeni Airport by Mrs. Elena Ceausescu, by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], by members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and government, by heads of central institutions, mass and public organizations.

'Abdol Majid Mozafari, charge d'affaires a.i. of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Bucharest, and embassy staff were present.

The presidential aircraft took off at 8:30, making for Tehran.

GNA Passes Bills, Concludes Session 14 Dec

AU1412205989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1949 GMT 14 Dec 89

["Works of Grand National Assembly Session"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 14/12/1989—The works of the GNA [Grand National Assembly] session continued on December 14 in the afternoon.

After discussing every bill by articles, the Grand National Assembly passed them unanimously. The deputies also endorsed the proposal to commission the State Council under decree to apply the regulation referring to the liability of the socialist units for the protection and development of the assets entrusted by society, as well as the setting up, organization and operation of the higher council of coordination of the activity of economic, financial and social control.

In view of the public debate, the bill will be released.

At the close of the tenth session of the ninth term, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly took the floor.

Patan Reports to Assembly on 1990 State Budget

AU1412202789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1831 GMT 14 Dec 89

["Memorandum of the Bill of Romania's State Budget in 1990"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/12/1989—In the Memorandum of the Bill of Romania's State Budget in 1990, presented at the session of the Grand National Assembly by Minister of Finances Ion Patan, empowered by the government to do so, the fact is shown that this normative act has been worked out in keeping with the bill of the single national plan of the country's economic and social development and ensures the materialization of the tasks set in the documents of the 14th party congress.

The provisions of the bill of the state budget for the next year are based on the Romanian people's results in point of the country's economic and social development in 1989, which will end with a budget excedent worth some 71.5 billion lei. In the first quarter of this year the country's financial situation allowed for the writing off of some 115 billion lei worth of debt owed by the producer cooperative farms, resulted from credit offered by the state in years, the memorandum reads while stressing at the same time that the powerful development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy allowed for the foreign debt to be written off this year, which has helped enhancing the hard currency reserves, ensuring full political and economic independence. When considering these achievements one must bear in mind that other countries owe Romania 2.6 billion dollars and 1.4 billion rubles.

The bill of the state budget in 1990 provides for incomes worth 404.4 billion lei, spending worth 310.4 billion lei and an excedent of 94.0 billion lei.

Nearly all the incomes come from the socialist sector of the economy, that is 98.5 percent of the total.

Such certain incomes are provided for in the bill of the state budget in 1990, going 8.7 percent up on the current year. At the same time the policy aiming to develop and expand the foreign trade, the international economic cooperation and Romania's active participation in the international exchange of assets will allow for a continuation of the process on consolidating the hard currency reserves in various forms.

Pointing out that the development of the Romanian economy as a whole is done with domestic means, without resorting to any foreign credit at all, the memorandum mentions that in order to finance the national economy the budget provides for as much as 181.1 billion lei. The amounts to be spent from the budget on research and development are worth 950 billion lei. To the same end the economic units will use 14.5 billion lei of their own.

The consistent policy promoted by the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Romanian state with a view to continuously improving the standard of living shows in the 110.4 billion lei worth of spending provided for in the bill of the state budget, which is meant to ensure under ever better circumstances the requirements of education, health care, culture, art, recreation and sport of all the people as well as the payment of pensions and other similar actions.

The 1990 budget comprises distinctly the local budgets, with total incomes worth 27.1 billion lei and spending worth 15.1 billion lei. All the administrative-territorial units are planned to operate upon the principle of self-financing.

The memorandum shows that in 1989 most of the economic units carried out their activity making benefits, more than 50 percent of them, even exceeding the planned benefits. Yet, owing to failure to meet the targeted production, exceeding costs, inefficient spending in some enterprises and with a limited number of products, loss has been recorded. These shortcomings are also the outcome of the fact that not on all occasions did the Ministry of Finance, the banks, the financial-banking apparatus carry out properly the role incumbent on them in the progress of the entire economic and social activity.

A rise in the standard of self-financing of the socialist economic units has been provided, by setting up their own funds from the benefits they make, so that the bank credit is reduced even further. This will provide further financial, hard currency and monetary balance and a healthy circulation of the money, which are decisive conditions for Romania's economic and social development in 1990.

Bill on Improving Socioeconomic, Financial Control

AU1512152589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1544 GMT 15 Dec 89

["Bill of Improvement of Economic, Financial and Social Control Activity—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/12/1989—In its December 14 session, the Romanian Parliament debated the Bill of the Liability of the Socialist Units for the Protection and Development of the Assets Entrusted by Society, as well as the setting up, organization and functioning of the Higher Council of Coordination of the Activity of Economic, Financial and Social Control.

The new bill will be applied on an experimental basis to begin with, for six months, as of January 1, 1990. Concomitant, it will be submitted to public debate. Based on the conclusion drawn from its experimental application and on the proposals resulting from the public debate, the new bill will be made final and advanced again to the Parliament for endorsement.

The document stresses the responsibility incumbent upon the working people, the collective management bodies, the ministries and the other central state bodies in the management of the units, the preservation, development and protection of the assets entrusted by the society, their judicious administration, for the economic results obtained, for the consolidation of the control, including one's own, as well as for improving the quality of the whole activity.

In view of ensuring the unitary running of the whole activity of control, the coordination and guidance of all bodies and organizations that, according to the law, have attributions in this domain, the Higher Council of Coordination of the Activity of Economic, Financial and Social Control is set up. The new body has wide attributions of control and jurisdiction, the measures established by it being compulsory to all state bodies and organizations.

According to the bill submitted to public debate, a vice president of the State Council shall be chairman of the Higher Council of Coordination of the Activity of Economic, Financial and Social Control. The nominal composition of the council shall be endorsed by presidential decree. The council shall meet monthly and whenever necessary.

The setting up of a Court of Justice under that body was also decided. According to the bill, the court is to try, upon approval by the State Council, the members of the government and the other executives of central bodies elected by the Grand National Assembly, as well as the chairmen of the Executive Committees of the County People's Councils and of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council, for the damage caused to public property by misconduct in the economic, financial and social activity.

Prioteasa Meets Mauritanian Officials on Visit

AU1112153289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1349 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Nouakchott, AGERPRES, 11/12/1989—The chairman of the Military Committee of National Salvation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Colonel Maaouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, received Paula Prioteasa, minister of food industry, who visited Mauritania as part of the periodical meetings of the two relevant ministers agreed upon at top level. On the occasion, the Mauritanian head of state was conveyed from Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu a friendly message of salute and best wishes of good health and personal happiness, of peace and prosperity for the friendly Mauritanian people.

Warmly thanking for the message and good wishes addressed, the chairman of the Military Committee of National Salvation, head of state of Mauritania, requested that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a cordial salute and wishes of good health and happiness, of full success in the activity devoted to the friendly Romanian people's welfare, to Romania's progress and prosperity.

During the talk, they evoked the meetings and understandings reached with Romania's president, that had opened wide prospects to the development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples, as well as to the collaboration between them in the international arena. Emphasis was placed on the determination to further work for the expansion and diversification of the activity in fisheries.

Paula Prioteasa was received by Lieutenant Colonel Mohamed Lemine Ould N'Diayane, permanent secretary of the Military Committee of National Salvation and had interviews with Colonel Mohammed Sidina Ould Sidya, minister of fisheries and maritime economy, and Major Cheikh Sid'Ahmed Ould Baba, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation.

Aspects of development of the Romanian-Mauritanian bilateral relations were discussed on the occasion.

SCINTEIA Rejects Privatization

AU1612212289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1819 GMT 16 Dec 89

["Firm Application of the Revolutionary Principles of Socialism—Excerpted Article in SCINTEIA of 16 December"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/12/1989—The RCP's [Romanian Communist Party] entire activity devoted to

Romania's multilateral development convincingly proves that socialist construction objectives are fulfilled in keeping with the peculiarities and specific conditions in this country; that there is not and there cannot be a single model in this respect; that the generally valid principles and laws which should be necessarily taken into account are applied in concrete historical conditions that differ from one country to another.

The socialist transformation of society is a historical work of particular scope and complexity implying the translation into fact of an aggregate of general principles among which historical experience has highlighted as decisive the party's leading the entire work of socialist construction; the exercise of political power by the working class, by all people; the dialectical unity between the leading role of the party and the development of socialist democracy; the strengthening and development of socialist property; the elimination, on this basis, of any form of exploitation and oppression; the achievement of the socialist principles of distribution; the planned development and the unitary management of the entire economic and social life; the assertion of the revolutionary conscience, the molding of the new man.

The observance of the requirements of the objective laws in the context of the specific historical conditions that differ from one country to another, the firm orientation in the spirit of the principles of scientific socialism as attested by historic experience are fundamental premises for the elaboration of a revolutionary political strategy, appropriate for each historical period, for each development stage of the new system.

Historical experience has proved the truth that general laws, the principles of the revolutionary outlook on the world and society fully reveal their potentiality only through an open practical activity receptive to changes, to the entire national and world experience.

The deep-going revolutionary transformations occurred in our country offer grounds to argue the importance of adapting revolutionary strategies to the situation in each given historical stage, and, at the same time, underscore the need to firmly apply the fundamental principles of scientific socialism to the so diverse internal and international political and cultural conditions in which each party engaged in the management of the revolutionary process works.

One of the laws of scientific socialism is that the development and improvement of the new system can be ensured only by the socialist property of the productive means. Through everything it has achieved Socialist Romania proves that there can be no way back, that there can be no question that the big industrial, farming, social units, fruit of the people's work in the past forty, years, be "privatized", to use the phrase in fashion in some countries which actually means a return to capitalism.

The outlook of the RCP on the current questions related to the improvement of the new system proves that it was not socialism that led to the negative states of affairs in one country or another but the violation of the scientific principles of socialism, the neglect of the requirements of objective laws, first of all of the need to continuously develop the forces of production the decisive revolutionary factor in socialist construction, just as in the development of any social system.

Life has tellingly proved the viability of the basic principles of socialism.

The experience of socialist construction strongly proves that socialism can only be the outcome of the fight of the working class, of the progressive revolutionary forces of every people; it cannot be imposed from the outside, as it cannot be stopped by means of counterrevolutionary interventions of external forces.

The building of the new system necessarily calls for the firm observance of the revolutionary principles of socialism, the choosing, on this basis, of the concrete ways of solving the problems posed by the development and improvement of the new system. From this angle, the stances which, under the pretext of improving socialism, try to abandon general principles or limit their importance and sphere of action, resorting to capitalist ways and modalities of social organization and management, opening the door to anarchic influences, and harming the course of the revolutionary process, appear as fully baleful.

The experience of the Romanian people, of its revolutionary party proves the need for the approaches to and the practical measures for the improvement of socialist construction to rely on the great theoretical truths, on the achievements scored, on the latest gains of the revolution in science and technology, ensure the entire development on the path of revolutionary struggle, by blending general requirements with that practical experience and specific economic and social conditions call for in one stage of another.

SCINTEIA Reiterates Party's Leading Role

AU0912170089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1349 GMT 9 Dec 89

["The Party and the Socialist State in the System of the Workers' Revolutionary Democracy"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 9/12/1989—It is under this heading that on December 9 daily "SCINTEIA" runs an article reading inter alia:

Romania's experience has proved tellingly that the assertion of the leading political role of the party and the growing role of the socialist state are fundamental laws of the socialist construction.

Sharing identical social goals, the socialist state and the revolutionary political party are today in a relation of tight cooperation within the socialist political system, but they have never been and certainly will never be in a relation of mutual equivalence from which the practical possibility of one being replaced by the other might result. As a matter of fact neither of these fundamental political institutions exhausts the forms of political management within our system, which materialize inter alia in a greater part played by the mass and public organizations and by the new democratic bodies. According to the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], the theses on the "state-party" or the "party-state" are meant to create disorientation and confusion. Enhancing the role of the state and the leading political role of the party limits in no way the democratic manifestation of the masses' political will, while in fact stimulating it.

At the current stage, developing the activity of the state, the socialist democracy, the assertion of the new forms of workers' self-management make a political process integrated into the general historical process of improving all the fields of activity in keeping with the musts of the current stage of social development.

The modern idea of "diversified" power and of "centres" of power holders, of creating a "variety of groupings" asserting themselves as specific entities has not been opaque at all, in the bourgeois system and even less so in the socialist system, to the complementary idea of unity and uniqueness in the exertion of political power.

Under the circumstances of the socialist system one of the fundamental premises for the new relations between the state and the party is made by the existence of the socialist ownership of the means of production and the unity of interests resulting from this. Its quality as Socialist Romania's ruling party and the fact that the country's constitution sanctions the role of the Romanian Communist Party as the leading political force of society trigger a number of consequences which show in the entire social life. This fundamental attribute makes our party highly responsible for everything that is being done all over the country, for everything that concerns the future of the Romanian people.

In organizing and leading revolutionary changes and the process of building of the new system, the party has the task to synthesize the whole social experience, to thoroughly and continually study the new phenomena, and to establish the way of action for the elimination of the old and the triumph of the new.

Our party considers that, in the current stage, the working class and its revolutionary party continue to have a major responsibility to the people for the consistent application of the principles of socialism, an historic responsibility they cannot give up.

Far from meaning a monopolization of the political activity in society, the exercise of the party's leading political role is conducive to intensifying the people's participation in the sociopolitical life, to improving and diversifying the organizational framework for the participation of all social classes in a democratic management of society. The integrating character of the function of political leadership exercised by the party shows in the fact that the Communist Party must be not only an administrative leader but also a political and ideological leader of society.

As its statute stipulates, the RCP leads the socioeconomic activity from within worker collectivities, through the agency of their communists, but this direct involvement must not be understood as a substitution for the specific functions of the leading administrative or economic bodies but as a political leadership, as an organization of activities in the priority directions of development.

The democratic character of the political leadership of the socialist society is guaranteed by the permanent dialogue of the party and of the state bodies with the masses, with the entire people.

The socialist state had and has the mission to ensure the implementation of the country's development programmes, the equitable satisfaction of the economic, social and cultural demands of all categories of working people and of the entire people, in the spirit of the principles of socialism. In the context, the organizational aspect of the state's activity and its unitary management of economic and social life assert themselves ever stronger. Our party holds the view that this evolution of the socialist state's functions is an essential direction for the evolution of the socialist state in the current stage. The state and its bodies must operate according to the country's constitution, to its laws which regulate the economic and social relations. They must carry on activity only according to the laws passed by the Grand National Assembly, after consulting the nation. The primacy of law, the ensurance of socialist legality in all activities guarantees not only all the societal members' effective participation in running society's affairs but also the objective economic and social prerequisite for the holding and exercise of political power in the state by the people itself.

From this angle, the RCP which has made the promotion of a democratic climate in its ranks and in society a fundamental principle of its activity is, alongside the socialist state and the whole system of democratic institutions created in our society, a deciding factor of the general progress of socialism, a warrantor of the application of the fundamental principles of the new society.

Ceausescu Interview for Nigerian Weekly 16 Nov

AU0812110189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Nov 89 pp 1,5

[Interview with President Nicolae Ceausescu's by the Nigerian Magazine TIMES INTERNATIONAL, in Bucharest on 16 November]

[Text] As announced, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Dayo Alao, chief editor of the Nigerian weekly TIMES INTERNATIONAL, whom he gave the following interview:

Question: Esteemed Mr President, the bilateral official contacts and flourishing economic trade have made the relations between Nigeria and Romania such that they can be considered as very satisfactory. Please tell us your opinion on the further development of ties between our two countries.

Answer: I would like to stress with great satisfaction that relations between Romania and Nigeria have registered as continually developing, both in the economic, scientific-technical, and cultural fields and in the cooperation on a number of international problems.

As you very well know, international problems are very complex and the situation of the developing countries has worsened in this decade. However, I would like to emphasize that our countries have maintained their cooperation in economy and other spheres of mutual interest, and even managed to expand it to a certain extent.

In view of Romania's concerns with promoting its socioeconomic development and expanding international cooperation with various states, and of Nigeria's concerns with its socioeconomic development, I believe that—considering our achievements to date—prospects are good for expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation, production sharing, and other ventures in many fields of mutual interest for both countries.

We believe that, in the current international situation, our countries, along with other states, should closely cooperate in solving a number of problems, in order to promote the faster progress of their national economies and, on this basis, to strengthen their independence and sovereignty.

At the same time, it is obvious that our countries have many common viewpoints on international issues and that we wish to expand cooperation—I repeat, together with other countries—so as to participate more actively in solving the complex problems of the world life, to the benefit of all peoples and with a view to strengthening each nation's independence and sovereignty.

Question: In light of decisions adopted by the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], we beg you, Mr President, to tell our readers about the balance-sheet of achievements with which the Romanian party and people have welcomed this important event and about the stipulated social, political, and economic options for the coming 5 years, to the benefit of the Romanian people.

Answer: The 14th RCP Congress drew a balance sheet of the activity of the past 45 years since the country's liberation. The congress presented the current stage of the Romanian socialist society and laid out the program for our future development in the 1991-95 5-year plan and up to the year 2010.

In the 45 years since the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, Romania has obtained outstanding achievements in all spheres of activity. Indeed, 45 years ago, our country was a poorly developed one; it was considered a "predominantly agrarian" country. Today, Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country, with a strong and modern industry, organized on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology, with a flourishing agriculture.

Figures are the best proof of all this. Today, the Romanian industry produces 145 times more than it did 45 years ago, of which a 128-fold increase was achieved after the Ninth Party Congress of 1965. The agricultural production has increased 10-fold compared to the same period, more than 6-fold after 1965. The national income has grown by more than 40 times, most of this growth, some 33 times, after the Ninth Party Congress.

As you can see, we have registered a strong economic development in all spheres! Likewise, we have strongly developed science, education, and culture. At the same time, our economic development allowed us to complete a vast program of housing and social constructions and to raise the people's overall living standard. Concurrently, with the development of industry, agriculture, and other sectors, we have built millions of housing facilities, particularly in our fatherland's cities. Today, some 82 percent of the country's population and some 90 percent of Bucharest's inhabitants are living in new homes!

We have ensured the strong development of the material base of education, generally introduced the 10-year education, and this year we moved to the 12-year education for all of the young generation. In practical terms, the entire education system, including the academic, is free of charge.

We strongly developed medicare, cultural activities, and other sectors, thus raising the people's overall level of civilization and life. We did that by substantially developing the forces of production and allocating some 30-33 percent of the national income to the accumulation and development fund, particularly after 1965. On this basis, we further developed our fixed assets and socialist ownership—under the form of the whole nation's and the cooperative property—which are the foundation of the fatherland's entire development and socialist construction.

What can one say about the situation with which we presented ourselves at the 14th Congress? One can only say that we drew a balance-sheet of great achievements in all spheres, thus demonstrating that socialism has fully shown its strength and ability to ensure the speedy progress of our people and fatherland!

At the same time, we intend to speed up the program for the fatherland's overall development, on the basis of achievements to date. Concurrently with the general development of industry and agriculture, as basic branches of the national economy, we will place emphasis of the intensive aspect of development, by achieving a higher quality and technological level in all spheres. We start with the goal that Romanian products should vie with the best products in the world and we aim at producing the best items in some spheres!

To this end, we will place greater emphasis on intensifying scientific research and education, raising the general training level of the people, from workers to engineers, and arming them with the latest achievements of science and technology in all fields. We believe that raising the general level of knowledge is an objective and law-governed requirement for the continuous progress of our national economy, as well as of any other country's development.

Of course, we bear in mind that all our achievements should ensure the country's comprehensive progress and further raise the people's living standard, in order to create ever better and more equitable living conditions for all the country's inhabitants, in the spirit of socialist equity.

We have managed to maintain a good balance between large and small incomes, and we intend to continue this practice in the future. Today, the ratio between the maximum and minimum remuneration is 1 to 4.7, and we plan to maintain it in the future, too, while making it clear that nobody in Romanian society may live without working and that everyone should work in accordance with his training and abilities. Incomes, including remuneration, must be alloted by the activity and work done. However, I repeat, we want to ensure incomes for a dignified life for all citizens. We do not want to have rich people in our society, in the accepted meaning of the word "rich," but neither do we want to have poor people. Everything that we produce should ensure dignified and good living conditions for the whole nation, from all viewpoints. We believe that this is a key requirement of the socialist society we are building in Romania!

By 1995, we will have fully satisfied housing requirements for all inhabitants of the country's cities. Generally speaking, by the year 2000 and at the beginning of the third millennium, we aim at turning Romania into a strongly developed country in all spheres—a "comprehensively developed" country, as we called it—with the best possible working, living, and educational conditions. We plan to and will have a people with a high level of culture and civilization!

Question: Some Western press organs have presented the developments in Romania's villages in a contradictory way. Please tell our readers about the meaning of these changes.

Answer: As far back as 1968 we implemented a new territorial-administrative reorganization of the country. We reduced certain intermediary links and actually returned to the old country's organization, which has facilitated a better overall development of the regions and localities.

We paid particular attention to deploying industry and other sectors of activity through all the country's counties. At the same time, we made efforts to develop the agricultural sector. In practical terms, we started from the need to achieve a more balanced and equal development of all the country's counties and areas, in the belief that only in this manner will we be able to increase the overall level of civilization and achieve true equality of rights among all citizens.

As I have already mentioned, we have carried out a great work in construction in towns. Likewise, we have established many new towns. We have paid particular attention to organizing and improving the situation of communes and villages. However, compared with the towns, they continue to be much less developed. Therefore, on the basis of the progress of towns and of the fact that here we generally have solved the housing problem, we intend to pay greater attention to the development of communes and villages. In doing this we are primarily proceeding on the basis of the need to ensure the socioeconomic development of each rural locality. We plan to strongly develop agriculture, small-scale industry, services, and commercial activities in all communes in order to improve the general standard of living of all people who live in these localities.

Likewise, we will continue to attach particular attention to education, to creating appropriate conditions for young people so that they can attend a 12-grade school as close as possible to their own locality. We will continue to perfect the health care system and we will ensure the most adequate conditions in all communes to prevent diseases and ensure treatment, thus citizens in these communes will have to go to towns only for very serious cases. Likewise, we will substantially develop the cultural-artistic activity.

Within this framework, we would like to build, with the assistance of the state, more comfortable dwellings for workers and experts in communes and, at the same time, to help the cooperative peasantry and the other residents of villages to build better houses, in accordance with the most reasonable system of organization and systematization. We are aware of the fact that this will take time, however, proceeding from the achievements we have obtained so far, we believe that it will not take too long to generally resolve the issue of improving the standard of living in villages. We proceed from the basis that the people's standard of living in villages should be as close as possible to the standard of living in towns, because we cannot achieve socialism by ensuring a high standard of living in towns while maintaining villages in a backward state. We should improve the whole nation's general level of civilization. We are working in this spirit and we will continue to work with utmost consistency in the future, too!

Question: Mr President, we would like to know your viewpoint on the so-called "perestroyka" and "glasnost" in the USSR and on the changes that are taking place in Hungary and Poland. In what way could these changes effect the international situation?

Answer: In my answer to your first question I stressed Romania's development after the Ninth Party Congress. I did that because starting with that congress, Romania and our party adopted decisive measures to perfect and better organize the whole activity of socialist construction. First of all, we put an end to the so-called "single model" and gave up the mechanical, uncritical copying of others, as well as kowtowing before others. We restored the party and the people's feeling of dignity, confidence in their own forces, and the revolutionary spirit in ensuring the development of our society.

We have proceeded and continue to proceed on the bases of the fact that socialism is achieved differently from one country to another, and from one development stage to another, and that each party and each nation should find the best manner in which to achieve socialism in accordance with their own interests and with the development level of the respective nation.

We set ourselves the task of building socialism with the people and for the people. In this respect, we have broadly developed democratic frameworks. We have moved on to self-management and self-administration in all fields of activity.

I could say that precisely these measures enabled us to obtain the great achievements that I have mentioned!

I am referring to all these things in order to stress that what is currently taking place in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, should be viewed as an activity aimed at perfecting and improving the socialist society. No doubt in certain countries, some measures have exceeded this characteristic. As a matter of fact, they have opened up the path toward capitalist forms of ownership and activity and this fact may create particular problems in the process of socioeconomic development of the respective nations and, no doubt, they can have negative effects also on the international situation.

We believe that the activity of more markedly improving and organizing the work of socialist construction should be based on the principles of socialism and not on return to capitalist forms! Any kind of objective analysis can show that socialist countries have obtained important achievements and that socialism has proved its power and capability of finding solutions to many problems. The difficulties that have emerged in certain countries are not caused by socialism but by the lack of implementing socialist principles! Therefore, in order to overcome difficulties one should not return to capitalist forms but firmly apply the principles of socialist organization, of distribution, and of socialist ownership. Only in this way can we ensure the firm progress of peoples toward a better life!

In this respect, I would like to refer to the activity of some imperialist circles which preach that socialism has proved itself non-viable. They are carrying out a type of "cold war," antisocialist, and anticommunist activity; an activity of destabilization and interference in the domestic affairs of some socialist countries.

As a matter of fact, this is part of the whole policy of the imperialist circles against all nations who wish to develop independently and wish to ensure their genuine economic and political independence!

The imperialists hope that, by destabilizing the situation in some socialist countries, they will be able to consolidate their position of domination and oppression.

I would like to tell you frankly that, in my view, all these actions are doomed to failure! As a matter of fact, this is not the first time that they have attempted such actions. But these actions will fail again and socialism will more powerfully assert itself as a system that is capable of ensuring the best conditions for the people's socioeconomic progress, equality, well-being, and independence!

Question: Evident changes have taken place in South Africa. Mr President, how do you see this evolution? What are your suggestions on the manner in which the international community should approach the issue of "South Africa" in order to put a rapid end to the apartheid system?

Answer: Indeed, a number of changes have taken pace and continue to take place in South Africa in connection with the weakening—it is true, a very slow weakening—of the old, racist apartheid policy. These changes have been brought about by the intensification of the African people's actions against the policy of apartheid and by the people's movement in the world, including the position taken by the United Nations, which works toward the elimination of the policy of apartheid, as soon as possible, and the achievement of a genuinely democratic state, which can ensure full equality of rights for all its citizens.

Taking into consideration the concern of the world public opinion and of national liberation movements, but mainly the intensification of the struggle of progressive-democratic forces in South Africa, and the actions of the majority of the population that desires an end, as soon as possible, to this policy, one can assume that new results will be obtained.

I believe that African countries should strengthen their solidarity with the progressive forces everywhere, with international organizations, and with all peoples with a view to eliminating apartheid and ensuring complete equality of rights for all citizens.

As far as Romania is concerned, as it has done so far, it will continue to grant full support to the struggle of the people in South Africa and assist them in ensuring their complete right to participate, on an equal footing, in the whole economic, social, and political life and, so to speak, to become masters in their own country. We are convinced that this objective will be fulfilled!

Question: Mr President, disarmament remains a vital option to ensure peace and protect mankind from a devastating war. We would like to present to our readers Romania's position and your ideas on the issues of disarmament.

Answer: The international situation continues to be extremely complex and serious. It is true that certain steps have been taken toward disarmament, but these are very small steps and, as a matter of fact, nuclear tests and the manufacturing of new nuclear weapons continue. NATO decided to modernize the short-range missiles and tactical weapons and reaffirmed the so-called doctrine of "nuclear deterrence," which, in fact, represents the doctrine of nuclear blackmail and the doctrine of force and dictate.

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to say that the danger of a war in which nuclear weapons would be used has lessened and that we move on toward a policy of detente. Only the first steps have been taken! Therefore, we believe that the fundamental issues of our times are disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, the complete renunciation of nuclear tests, of manufacturing new nuclear weapons, and of modernizing these weapons, and to ensure the movement to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Only under these circumstances can mankind say that they have taken serious steps toward actions that can ensure their existence and can defend life itself on our planet!

Likewise, everything possible should be done to eliminate chemical weapons and radically reduce conventional weapons and the huge military expenditure, which exceed 1.2 trillions dollars. Only a reduction in 50 percent of these expenditures can ensure the very important means necessary to resolve the most serious social problems in the world—including the problems in developed capitalist countries—and to grant a more marked support to developing countries.

The implementation of these objectives requires the strengthening of solidarity of all countries and the participation of all countries, including small and medium-size countries, of developing countries, and nonaligned countries, along with the super powers, in the activity of finding solutions to problems. At the same time, the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies should more markedly increase in the international arena. However, it is decisive that people should consolidate their solidarity and make concerted efforts to bring about a new policy, that can ensure disarmament and peace in the world!

Question: Esteemed Mr President, the gaps between developed and developing countries, on one side, and the developed or less developed countries, on the other side, are very big and continue to increase. How do you believe that these gaps can be reduced or eliminated?

Answer: As a matter of fact, in the past years, the world economic situation has constantly worsened. In one way or another a strong international economic, social, and political crisis has been occurring, primarily in developed capitalist countries. As it had happened also in the past, today, developed capitalist countries and the international monopolies and financial capital wish to burden other people, including the people's masses in their own countries, with these difficulties, in order to maintain and even develop their incomes and benefits. This is the picture of the situation in this decade and these are the facts according to the official data published by the international bodies themselves.

The reality is that the gaps between rich and poor countries have widened. Developing countries have become poorer. Annually, tens of billions dollars from developing countries go to developed countries and to the international monopolies and financial capital. As a matter of fact, the current situation is no longer acceptable—namely that the poor who become poorer continue to finance the rich, who continue to become richer. It is obvious that such a situation cannot go on for long! More than two thirds of the population of the world is living in poor countries and these billions of people will not be able to accept forever this unjust situation in which they are maintained and accept the continued deterioration in their standard of living!

Therefore, Romania believes that it is necessary to put an end to this situation as soon as possible. We call for a United Nations-sponsored international conference with the participation of both developing and developed countries in order to jointly find ways to eliminate the policy that has prevailed so far and ensure adequate conditions for the socioeconomic progress of primarily the developing countries and ensure the general stability of the world economy.

We call out for overall solutions to developing countries' foreign debt issue, starting with the cancellation of at least an important part of these debts for the poorest countries, the radical reduction of excessively great debts, and the rescheduling on a long-term basis, with small interest or no interest at all, of all outstanding credits.

Likewise, it is necessary to reach an agreement on granting new credits, however this should be done under advantageous conditions, based on other principles that allow a rapid progress of the national economies of these countries. New economic relations of equality and mutual advantage should be achieved, that is a new international economic order! This is in keeping with the interests of developed countries, too, because world economic stability will ensure general progress, including finding solutions to the serious social problems in developed countries.

We advocate the strengthening of solidarity and cooperation among developing countries. We believe that, working in closer cooperation and solidarity, they can find solutions to many problems of the socioeconomic progress and take joint actions with developed and rich countries to resolve the problems of progress, of underdevelopment, and of finding a new international economic order. I should say that strengthening solidarity and cooperation among developing countries, which represents more than two thirds of mankind, is a vital need for these people and for the future of mankind.

As far as Romania is concerned, it will continue to work with all its forces to ensure the development of cooperation and to actively contribute to finding solutions to the complex problems and to the difficulties that developing countries are facing, for the progress and prosperity of all peoples in the world.

Question: The third world countries are confronted with a phenomenon that is becoming increasingly worrying: qualified personnel are leaving the country. We would like to your opinion about this serious problem, the "brain drain."

Answer: Indeed, concurrently with the serious problems of underdevelopment, the third world countries are faced with a policy of luring such personnel; a policy promoted by the same developed capitalist countries that actually mean to ensure a cheap, qualified labor force in order to increase their own profit and benefits, without assuming permanent obligation toward these people. Thus, when there is no more need for these people, they are sent home, and you are very well aware of this problem!

Indeed, an end should be put to the policy of "brain drain" and of luring personnel and various experts, in various ways, with promises and certain temporary advantages, but which will accentuate the lack of experts and lack of specialized labor force necessary for developing countries, necessary for their socioeconomic progress. As a matter of fact, this is another way in which rich countries work toward maintaining a low level of economic, scientific, and cultural development of developing countries, to accentuate the division in the world between rich and poor. As a matter of fact, this is also a part of the general policy of exploitation promoted by imperialist circles! Thus, it is necessary that in addition to the activity of finding solutions to the problems of underdevelopment and socioeconomic progress, action should be taken to make developed countries give up this policy.

On the contrary, they should assist the development of education and science and the training of cadres for developing countries, because without qualified personnel, developing countries will not be able to ensure their socioeconomic progress!

The developing countries should think over this issue more thoroughly and should work out a joint position, also within the framework of the United Nations. And I repeat, that it is an absolute necessity to ensure the personnel and the scientific and cultural force necessary for the socioeconomic progress, elimination illiteracy, and improvement in the general level of civilization and standard of living!

In conclusion, I would like to convey to the readers of your publication and to the friendly Nigerian people, best wishes for progress, well-being, and peace!

200 Protest in Pristina for Kosovo Republic

LD1512201289 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] We have just received a report saying that in Marshal Tito Street in central Pristina a group of 200 mostly young people demonstrated half an hour ago, shouting: Kosovo—Republic, and Azem, Azem. The police dispersed them with teargas. The demonstrators ran away but regrouped outside the Students Center where they again demonstrated and shouted slogans. Sporadic shots were also heard.

Pristina, Pec Demonstrators Arrested

AU1712184089 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Members of the security services have arrested 12 participants in the demonstrations of Albanian separatists which took place in the center of Pristina the evening before yesterday. There are also several demonstrators in Pec Prison, who demonstrated 3 days ago in the streets of the town, shouting hostile slogans. The majority of the demonstrators have been charged with misdemeanors, while some have had more serious charges leveled against them.

Slovene Chamber on Serbia's 'Punishable' Blockade

AU1512205189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] So far, working organizations of Serbia have informed 152 enterprises in Slovenia that they are breaking ties with them. In almost all branches of the economy, they are more and more frequently breaking business relations and contracts, stopping deliveries of production materials, and canceling orders. A session of the Executive Committee of the Chamber of Economy of Slovenia stressed that the economic blockade of the republic has assumed worrying proportions, and a new wave of breaks in business relations is expected. It was assessed that this has caused great damage to the economies not only of Slovenia and Serbia but all of Yugoslavia as well.

Serbia's economic blockade of Slovenia is aggression against Yugoslavia, and it is an unconstitutional and punishable act. It will have long-lasting harmful consequences, not only for both republics but also for the country in general. This was said by Marko Bulc, president of the Chamber of Economy of Slovenia. He described the reaction by the Federal Executive Council and SFRY Presidency as unclear, inefficient, and insufficient. At the same time he appealed to these and other organs of the federation to take measures according to the SFRY Constitution so that the present situation may be overcome.

The Executive Board of the Chamber of Economy of Slovenia supported the suggestion that in case the response by the federal organs is inadequate, Slovenia should prepare an appropriate program of countermeasures.

Brigic Addresses Serbian LC Congress

AU1712192289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Speech by Ivan Brigic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 11th Congress of the LC of Serbia in Belgrade on 15 December—live]

[Text] Comrades, allow me to greet you, delegates and guests of the 11th Congress of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia, on behalf of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and its Presidium and to wish you success in your work. The congresses of republican LC's, including yours, are being held during a time of deep socioeconomic crisis in Yugoslavia, but also of great efforts to form and specify the program of complete radical social reform and do so through the affirmation of the project of a democratic, materially richer, and more humane socialism which would make it possible for the people to have a freer and happier life.

During this process, the LC has been trying to form its own concept of social reforms initiated at the LCY conference, as well as —through the activity of its member and the entire organization—to overcome desintegrational tendencies and disunity in its ranks, as well as to take over the political initiative in society.

It is important to accept the clear programmatic orientations and innovations which are turned to the coming times and which offer an accelerated economic and social progress, democracy, expansion of human freedoms and rights, and the development of initiative and creativity. The preparations for the 14th LCY Congress are turned in this direction.

One can justifiably say that we are standing at a great historic crossroads. It is high time we left behind hesitancy and ideological vacillations, as well as barren confrontations and divisions, and unite our forces in designing and realizing such a program of reforms that, taking into account the specific traits and objective differences, will proceed from what is common to all the peoples and nations of Yugoslavia.

We are not going to the congress with these principled stances only, we will also propose certain specific political initiatives that should influence the quickest possible realization of our economic stances. Primarily this concerns proposals to embark on the drafting of a new SFRY Constitution at once, and of a new Program and Statute of the LCY. This concerns proposals for urgent measures or programs on how to combat inflation, and some other specific moves in the economic and political spheres. By establishing a market economy and the autonomy of economic subjects and the pluralism of ownership, it is possible—and this has already been shown by the initial results—to initiate a (?process) of dynamic economic and social development and to link our economy with modern economic and scientific and technological development in the world.

In this sense, it is very important that the orientation has prevailed that inflation, which has become the most difficult problem and the source of people's mass dissatisfaction, must be urgently brought down. The Serbian LC has had a significant effect on this social orientation through its initiatives and proposals.

The LC is seeking answers [word indistinct] to unresolved questions of the renovation of socialism under modern conditions, rejecting mistakes and dogmas which it has created itself, aware of many (?obvious) errors, and ridding itself of bureaucratism, statism, and a voluntaristic attitude to the increasingly complex problems of the development of society.

The modern, democratic, and socialist society that we advocate is not a completed project which only needs to be carried through. We, in fact, are indicating its principles which are based above all on the freedom of the person, the development of human creativity, the democratization of all social relations, and our conditions of the equality of peoples and nationalities.

This project can be realized only by unblocking human, creative, and work initiative and integrating them into social trends, and by releasing motivation and people's energies and encouraging new developmental processes in society. This is that historical shift which should give the worker in our society the opportunity to realize his rights to manage.

I would like to stress on this occasion that the LCY's orientation toward radical social reform does not mean deviation from the programmatic ideas and strategies of self-management. In approaching the Extraordinary 14th Congress, the Central Committee clearly stressed in the proposed document that by seeking something new it unambiguously remains on the positions of self-management, the interests of the workers class, and the liberation of work and the person.

An inseparable part of social reform, which the president Comrade Trifunovic particularly spoke about, is the reform of the LC which should permit the LC to confirm itself through the progessive nature of its ideas as a realistic social force that is capable of realizing—on an equal footing with other political entities—a new project of socialism. Therefore, it must innovate its ideology and policy and organization and, in particular, democratize its internal life so that it does not finally remain on the sidelines of social development.

I think that the LC's basic task today is in fact to spread awareness about all the consequences of reform and the changes that it causes, and to show which of them need to be accepted as an orientation so that they will have the widest endorsement and the full political support of citizens. (?Therefore) the success of social reform will depend on the motivation of all the producers of tangible and intangible goods who live off their own work and the results of their work, and on their joint action, since not one single entity, class, movement, or party by itself can be the sole (?creator) of social progress.

Since the LCY conference, increasingly widespread support has been given to the belief that the unity of the LCY should be linked with a stategic orientation, the future of the development of our federal community as a modern and open democratic self-managing society in which all its parts, peoples, and nationalities see their future, and with a political and ideological role of the LCY which would correspond to this model of society's development.

I am deeply convinced that there is no stronger integrative force under our present conditions than in fact a radically renovated project of socialism with the concept of a politically pluralist society. This basic starting point also goes for overcoming the latest tensions in the country. The LCY bears most responsibility for ensuring that the crisis in mutual confidence be overcome as soon as possible through democratic talks and the confrontation of opinions and arguments.

Disintegrational processes, the deterioration of the political situation in the country, and the escalation of nationalism and chauvinism in all communities hinder all those social efforts for economic social reform, which is the only thing that can create opportunities for a quicker way out of the crisis. This is today the basic task of all Communists and all democratic socialist forces in the country. In the LCY, we must strengthen the system of joint responsibility for the situation in the entire society and also the situation in Kosovo which contiues to be one of the central problems without whose adequate resolution conflicts will not be resolved and the general situation in the country will not be stabilized.

The entire LCY, jointly with all democratic and socialist forces should create conditions, primarily in Kosovo but also in other parts of the country, to affirm and consistently realize the LCY's unitedly established policy concerning Kosovo. Communists and all socialist forces in Yugoslavia have the obligation, primarily before their own people, to resolutely implement the established social orientations in the Yugoslav program on Kosovo and crush Albanian separatist nationalism, as well as other nationalisms in all communities, in the framework of general efforts to implement the reforms and ensure a more stable socialist development of our country.

It is also worrying that disagreements and confrontations concerning Kosovo are being reproduced and exaggerated in Yugoslavia and the LCY. As long as this is the case, it will be difficult for things to be better. The key to success in Kosovo, as well as in all the other most difficult problems that are facing the country, lies above all in our unity.

At the end of this month, the LCY Central Committee will analyze the political situation in the country, including disagreements and problems concerned with Kosovo. And we hope that in the run up to the extraordinary LCY congress strength and ways will be found to influence the surmounting of the most urgent problems in this respect.

There have been more widespread processes of democratization, the critical awakening of the people, and protests and demands by workers which are essential proponents of great creative potential for social changes. Despite all the conflicts and divisions and the degree of existing differences in the broader strata of the people, a consciousness and firm orientation expressly prevalent among workers, the intelligentsia, the youth, and veterans that is for Yugoslavia and for a Yugoslavia that is a federal, socialist, and democratic Yugoslavia based on the principles of AVNOJ [Anti-fascist Council for the Liberation of the People of Yugoslavia].

These foundations and values of our socialist revolution like a federal structure, freedom, parity, national equality, brotherhood and unity, and the right to self-management are in fact not only the political aims of the LC and other socialist forces but these values have become a part of the national history and culture of all our peoples and nationalities and the essence of the very possibility of their joint existence.

These values should form the basis of the new constitution which will offer responses to questions in the construction of a modern federation whose solutions will be appropriate to the depth of the crisis and suit all peoples and nationalities. In this way, it is necessary to create conditions for a radical democratization of society in line with all economic and political reforms and for an essential increase in the efficiency of the federal state. These solutions should consolidate a federal Yugoslavia as the true community of equal peoples and nationalities and a democratic community of the citizens of Yugoslavia.

The Serbian LC has made a significant contribution to initiating and drafting the social reforms. This is an occasion for it to offer new additional contributions to the realization of the reforms, particularly when we are faced with our great internal disagreements and disunity.

Yugoslav Communists must resolutely oppose all those currents and trends which disintegrate the Yugoslav community and threaten its survival, so that the existing conflicts and divisions are surmounted in a democratic way and Communists find themselves together on a general reform front in the struggle for a better, more humane, and richer life for the people and peoples of Yugoslavia.

We are on the threshold of the Extraordinary 14th LCY Congress: we have never held a congress under such dramatic conditions and at such a crucial moment. Yugoslavia is seeking, and we are sure that it will find, its own road out of the crisis and its own road to stable development.

Once again, I wish you success in your work. [applause]

Trifunovic Elected Serbian LC President

LD1712101889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0943 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—The newly elected Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists today elected Bogdan Trifunovic as president of the Central Committee. He has already occupied this post. Out of the 146 members of the Central Committee present, 143 voted for Trifunovic and 3 voted for the other candidate for president, Tomica Raicevic.

Plenum Adopts Documents for Serbian Party Congress

AU1512174789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-30 Nov 89 p 16

[V. Krsmanovic report: "More Democracy and—More Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov—The 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia, which will be held in the middle of December, will not be a routine meeting of Communists, or even less a parade or celebration. This will be, as Dr Bogdan Trifunovic said today concluding the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee session, a responsible political discussion by the Communists which will establish what has and what has not been done, and at which the Communists will clearly and openly say what they are striving for.

Trifunovic said that the Serbian League of Communists has clear ideological and political orientations. It is in favor of unity in the League of Communists of Serbia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on a democratic and progressive socialist course. We ourselves will help in the search for modern Yugoslav solutions to serious problems in the present situation which would be a joint expression of our orientations for the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Summing up the discussion on the documents for the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia at the beginning of the session, Miomir Minic, secretary of the Presidium, said that the general message of the party discussion in Serbia is: The new policy of the League of Communists of Serbia is supported and the obligation is to implement it without delay and vacillation. The proposed concept of the reforms is the proper way out of the crisis; it is a profound democratization of society and of the League of Communists, and it is a good and stimulating basis for the discussion at the congress. Minic added that the chief request of all the discussions so far is more socialism, a better life for the people, more democracy, work, and the rule of law, more justice and ethics, more Yugoslavia.

What is wanted is to ensure, through the reform of the political system, free and direct elections, an independent judiciary, respect for and protection of human rights and freedoms, and the affirmation of the citizen as an entity in politics. The general request of the members and the people is that a new Constitution of the country be adopted as soon as possible. The League of Communists of Serbia favors freedom of organization and association. We advocate forms of socialist democracy that strengthen the rights of man and the citizen in self-managing and political life and decisionmaking. It is our position that in such a democracy, every monopoly, including the monopoly of the League of Communists, should be excluded, but this does not mean that the League of Communists should be deprived of the opportunity—under conditions of political pluralism—to struggle for and win confidence, respect, and authority with its quality program and action, Minic stressed.

All ten participants in the discussion supported the three documents submitted: the proposed resolution on "The League of Communists of Serbia and the Social Reform," "The Foundations of the Democratic Reform in the League of Communists," and the report on the work of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia between the two congresses. And all the Central Committee members adopted them at the conclusion of the session.

Several of those taking part in the discussion also referred to the question of political pluralism. Drasko Milicevic was of the opinion that the words "synthesis of pluralism" be crossed out of the document because, as he explained, they negate pluralism. Vlado Pjanic said that the decision to renew the Trade Unions as an independent organization of the workers class and "to open up the scope for social movements, associations, and citizens' initiatives" is beyond dispute. According to Pjanic, the League of Communists is against its own monopoly, but also against the monopoly of anybody else. Any political pluralism which jeopardizes Yugoslavia as a democratic federation and a socialist country, which jeopardizes relations based on national equality and on man as the basis of the political system and its subject is unacceptable.

Conducting a proper analysis of "the adjustments to the long and inefficient utopia" from 1974 onwards, Slavko Stojanovic said that purely political reforms were carried out under the mask of economic reforms, and therefore we have remained at the bottom in Europe and in regression we were led as far as the reintroduction of feudalism. He added that all this "joy" came from our own west. Serbia was excluded from all decisionmaking and did not even write its own Constitution. Even now, Stojanovic added, Slovenia and Croatia are turned toward the outmoded spirit of the past. This does not apply only to their propaganda but also to practical activities linked with Kosovo and former marches. It is a matter of epigones of the authors of our political and economic system who keep us in the past instead of opening up the problems of the future, Stojanovic said.

According to Snezana Ilic, the congress cannot fail to shed a critical light on certain regressive occurrences in the country which have been reflected in the general situation in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, because they had a separatist and destructive nature. They assaulted Serbia with all their might, and even now they are "baring their teeth" against it.

LCY Draft Declaration on Democratic Socialism

LD1712141689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1243 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Communists will urge a new project of democratic socialism for Yugoslavia, stresses a draft declaration made public today which will be submitted to the 14th special congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) called for late January of 1990.

The draft declaration stresses the need for breaking with authoritarian socialism and for a radical need for breaking with authoritian socialism and for a radical social reform, with a legal state of federative order. It demands the development of democratic socialism, whose chief criteria will be the protection of man's personal, political and social rights and the expansion of political freedoms.

At the international level, the LCY will work for a world of peace, freedom and solidarity, the affirmation of the policy of non-alignment as a essential factor in resolving international problems, and for a new place for Yugoslavia in European integration processes and its membership of the E.C., the European council, EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and other related European organizations and institutions.

In the attainment of these objectives priority should be given to the preparation of a new Yugoslav constitution and the drafting of a new programme and statute of the LCY. In the electorial law and prior to the next elections, conditions should be created for an equal participation of all political subjects in elections. There is also a demand for laws on the freedom of political association on the principles of this declaration.

The new constitution should create conditions necessary for guaranteeing and implementing the adopted international acts in the sphere of human rights and (?freedoms), and in a new way regulate individual rights and freedoms of the citizen.

The need is also emphasized for abolishing verbal offence and other norms of the criminal law which deny the citizen's constitutionally defined political rights or are an obstacle to the exercise of these rights.

In the economic field, the need is stressed for urgent consultations on curbing infaltion, by mid-1990 at the latest, and implementing a radical economic reform by changing the economic and development policy.

Immediately after the 14th special congress, the LCY will launch a political initiative to pass adequate decisions and draft a project of changes, in six months' time at the latest, stresses the LCY (?declaration) "For a new project of democratic socialism for Yugoslavia".

Democratic Party Established in Titograd

LD1512211389 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Excerpt] After reading out its declaration and singing the Yugoslav anthem, the Democratic Party, as the first opposition party to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, was established tonight in Titograd. Our reporter [name indistinct] reports from Titograd:

The great hall of the Faculty of Technology at the Veljko Vlahovic University could not accommodate all those who wanted to join or who wanted us to see and hear what was happening at the formation of the first democratic party in the country. Professor Slobodan Vujosevic read out the declaration. We, citizens of Yugoslavia, the declaration reads, are founding the Democratic Party under dramatic circumstances, perhaps the decisive ones for the future of our country, but with the hope and belief that we serve their interests by committing ourselves to democracy and the freedoms of citizens. We are joining the Democratic Party believing in the possibility of transforming our community in a state of freedom, equality, equal rights, and democracy, because we believe that without full freedom there is no way to freedom, just as without full democracy there is no way to democracy.

The Yugoslav community is being threatened, the declaration resumes; the longstanding political and economic crisis evolved into a crisis of its very existence. The rule of the LCY is encountering defeats in all the crucial realsm of society's life and its organization, and the consequences of this reign are horrifying the declaration states. [passage omitted]

SAWPY Federal Conference Discusses Divisions

LD1512162489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—The most serious obstacle in dealing with accumulated social problems in Yugoslavia is international and interrepublican divisions, lack of trust and conflicts, and in particular escalations of nationalism—according to the standpoints the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference on the current political situation in the country published today.

Therefore the Socialist Alliance, the standpoints say, appeals to all social subjects in the country, in particular in the republics and provinces, to contribute with their behavior to halting unprincipled and ill-argued public conflicts. They are also asked to energetically prevent further nationalistic and chauvinistic activity, primarily in their own environment, but also in the country as a whole.

To solve accumulated problems, the SAWPY Federal Conference believes it is necessary to work more speedily on a reform of the political system and prepare a new federal constitution with the full democracy of a public debate. In this connection the SAWPY Federal Conference asks the SFRY Presidency to inform the public at large about the course of preparations for a new constitution.

In its orientation for an efficient social reform based on political pluralism, the Socialist Alliance will support the measures of the Federal Executive Council which work toward strengthening the market economy, and liberalization and creation of equitable conditions for business activity. But in overcoming the economic crisis, the SAWPY Federal Conference believes it is necessary to start primarily with curbing inflation.

The SAWPY Federal Conference and republican and provincial organizations, the standpoints say, must as soon as possible critically examine the activity of the public information media in order to stop a media war on the Yugoslav information area.